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The Language and Literature of Ancient Indonesia and Malaysia

BY

PROF. HIMANSU BHUSAN SARKAR, (*Kharagpur*)

The languages of Indonesia and Malaysia constitute a branch of the Austronesian languages, which have sometimes been combined with other groups to constitute the Austric family. Investigators have observed that the Austronesian group of languages covers, almost exclusively, the islands of the Indian and Pacific Ocean extending from Madagascar to the Easter Island West of Chile and from Formosa in the North to New Zealand in the South. It spreads over certain parts of the Malacca Peninsula and perhaps over some other regions of the continent of Asia as well, but it does not include Australia, Tasmania, New Guinea (except along the coast) and a number of smaller islands in the Pacific and in the eastern part of Indonesia proper where the Papuan idioms are spoken.[1] The Indonesian family of languages, consisting of about 250 languages, belongs to the domain of this Austronesian language.

In this terrain of almost continental dimension, there are languages which are spoken by millions of people; there are others which are spoken by a few or are becoming extinct. In Sumatra, there are about fifteen languages, of which Achenese and Gayo are spoken in the North and the Batak idioms and Minangkabau in the Central parts. Among other languages, the so-called Middle-Malay dialects and Lampong idioms are current in the South, while Malay dialects are spoken in the eastern tracts, Malay Peninsula and in the adjacent islands. In Java, Sundanese is spoken in the western part, but in certain areas of the North it has got mixed up with Malay and Javanese. The rest of the island speaks Javanese, with the exception of the residencies of Bĕsuki and Pasuruhan, where the Madurese settlers speak Madurese. In the island of Madura and some small adjacent islands the language is Madurese, which has been to a large extent, influenced by Javanese. Balinese is spoken in the island of Bali and in a part of Lombok. Although Balinese betrays strong Indo-Javanese influences, it is, in structure and syntax, more intimately connected with the Sasakese of Lombok and the Sumbawanese of West Sumbawa. Dayak and Dayak idioms are spoken in large parts of the island of Borneo, but the coasts and interior tracts along the rivers speak various Malay dialects having strong similarity with Malay, as used in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula.[2] In the northern zone of Borneo, Philippine dialects are spoken in some places. There are no doubt various differences among these languages, but the outstanding characteristics of their grammar, phonetics, morphology and syntax are essentially the same.

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[1] Gonda, *Sanskrit in Indonesia* (1952), pp. 1, 8; *Encyclo. Ned. Indie* (1918), s.v. *Indonesiche taalstam*, p. 143. For the linguistic map of Indonesia, vide Gonda, *op.cit.*, Esser, *Atlas van Tropisch Nederland, Batavia*, 1938; Ensink in Winkler-Prins, *Algemeene Encyclopaedie, Amsterdam*, S. V. *Indonesische talen;* Voorhoeve, *Languages of Sumatra*, 1955; Loeb, *Sumatra*, p. 352.

Of the hundreds of languages of the Malayo-Indonesian world, only Javanese has a rich literature of its own, dating perhaps from the ninth century A.D. Extant literary works, with definite dates do not go beyond A.D. 996[3]. If we therefore wish to study specimens of an earlier Indonesian language, we shall have to focus our attention on a proto-Malay or arche-type Malay inscription dating from A.D. 683[4] and perhaps some others. The earliest dated Old-Javanese inscription is from A.D. 809.[5] The oldest dated inscription of Bali is from A.D. 882, while the oldest images from that island may be referred to the period between the 8th and the 10th century A.D.[6] The basic structure of these languages, in the 7th century A.D., being more or less uniform, as it is even now, the Chinese annalists were enabled, I believe, to describe this common parlance as Kouen-louen. A study of these inscriptions reveals sprinklings of Sanskrit words. Unfortunately, an Old-Malayan or Old-Sumatran literature does not exist any more, but the literary genre called Old-Javanese flourished from the 10th to the 15th century A.D.

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[2] For details of the languages of Borneo, vide A. A. Cense and E. M. Uhlonbeck: *Critical Survey of Studies on the languages of Borneo.*

[3] *Wirataparwa*, ed., Juynboll (1917) p. 98.

[4] Inscription of Kĕdukan Bukit (Palembang, Sumatra) ed. by Coedes in *BEFEO*, XXX (1930), pp. 29 ff.

[5] *OJO*, II.

[6] Wertheim, *Indonesian Society in transition: A study of social change*, 1956 (2nd edition, 1959), p. 379.

The Old-Javanese language was called *Kavi* even in the Majapahit period, because we come across, in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (25:2), composed in A.D. 1365, the expression *vidagdeng āgama vruḥ kavi,* i.e., 'he was proficient in the āgama-lore' and knew the '*kavi*-language.' The term *kavi* now denotes traditional literary idiom in general, whether it is written in old-Javanese or in a later form. The works in kavi-poesy are designated *Kakavin,* but in order to understand them one has to study all works of the genre written in about one hundred Sanskrit metres. Besides, there is another class of Sanskrit composition called the *Vavacan* which has been referred to in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (93:2), but it is not clear if it was composed in native metres and looked like the Malay *Pontoons.* Another class of poetical composition, probably in Sanskrit metre, was called *Lambang* which has been referred to in the *Sutasoma* dating from the 14th century A.D. Here the author speaks, towards the end of the poem, of *Kavi Gita Lambang* i.e., 'the poet of songs and *Lambangs.*'[7] The *Lambangs* must have become popular by the fourteenth century, because these have also been referred to in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama.* All these idioms and styles, at least most of them, refer to poetical compositions, but Old-Javanese had also a rich prose-literature, as we shall see later on.

Old-Javanese literature was fashioned in Central Java, but it flowered into wonderful shape in the court of East-Javanese Kings.

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[7] Quoted by Brandes in his edition of the *Pararaton,* p. 163. The term also occurs in the *Nāg.* 94: 3-4. While commenting on the word in his *Java in the Fourteenth century,* Vol. IV, p. 336, Pigeaud observes: "As *gita* and *kidung* seem to refer to Javanese poetry of the *pantun-pĕrikan* kind, perhaps *lambang* was the name of similarly artificial poems in Indian metres. Perhaps canto 97 of the *Nāg* where two consecutive half verses contain the same syllables in inverted order was called a *lambang*".

It seems that already in the 14th century there was a noticeable difference in the idiom of East and Central Java, though it is difficult to say if the present difference was present in the same form or nearly the same form in the Majapahit period. It is probable that the idiom current in the region of Majapahit and the lower course of the Brantas river was different from the idiom of Kaḍiri in about the middle sector of that river.[8] In any case, after the fall of Majapahit, which virtually brought about its destruction,[9] Javanese literature bifurcated into two streams, the main one enriching Balinese life and culture, laying there the real matrix of a Middle-Javanese literature, while the other one remained comparatively stagnant in Java. The Muslim kingdoms of Demak and Pajang provided the bridge for transition to New-Javanese in the mainland of Java. The King of Mataram, Sultan Agung (A.D. 1613-46), was a great patron of literature. He had succeeded in bringing the whole of Java under his suzerainty, but the literature produced in Java in the 17th and 18th centuries was not creative, and it was mainly devoted to the presentation in some intelligible language of the products of the earlier literature of the Kaḍir and Majapahit periods. This was quite natural, as the literary ideals had lost their moorings, and the administrative and cultural foundations had been profoundly shaken. The impact of Islamic theology, Pañji and Damar Vulan cycles, the Islamic saints, Hindu gods and goddesses, other facts and phenomena, created a strange situation. Amidst the crashing of literary ideals, in which the old was dying but the new was not yet born, writers groped in the darkness for some time, till New-Javanese evolved out of this flux. Its vocabulary, style and idiom are not exactly similar to those of the Old-Javanese. New-Javanese has developed, broadly speaking, out of the Kādiri-Pajang-Mataram idiom.[10] The various idioms of New-Javanese are now spoken in the form of Kṛama, Madya, Ngoko, Krama Inggil and Basa Kedatan.[11] Balinese has also, in common with Javanese, vocabularies of courtesy.

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[8] Pigeaud, *op.cit.*, p. 513.

[9] Some scholars have underestimated the effect of the changeover, but we may recall in this connection what has been stated in the *Tung Hsi Yang K'au* (1618 A.D.): "Majapahit has vanished also, having been destroyed in the wars which accompanied the introduction of Islam". Vide Groeneveldt, notes, p. 56. The disappearance of pre-Muslim literature from Malaya, Sumatra and near-disappearance from Java cannot be an accidental phenomenon nor can it be explained by fortuitous circumstances, as, according to Chinese evidence, a rich Sanskrit literature existed in Sumatra (Vide H. B. Sarkar in *JIH*, Vol. XLII, 1964, p. 396). The same evidence also speaks of the study of Sanskrit literature by the Brāhmaṇas of Malaya. We may recall in this connection the fate of the University town of Odandapura-vihara in Bihar (India). which was literally destroyed by fire and sword by the Muslim conquerors in C. 1199 A.D. (*History of Bengal*, II, p. 3, ed., J. N. Sarkar). The University at Alexandria had to face a similar situation.

The preservation of Old-Javanese literature seems mainly to be on account of a historical accident. After the fall of Java at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century, the stream of cultural life in East Java did not absolutely dry up, but its main flow turned towards Bali, where an Indo-Balinese society was flourishing for the last few centuries. The Princes and the nobility of the Majapahit court, their entourage, including many from the priestly class, and many other people of lesser rank, excepting the community of the Tenggers who stayed back in the East Java around the Brama-hill and still continues to live with their old religion, found a ready shelter with their lontar-works and way of life.[12] The products of their literary effort are not thus the off-shoots of the Old-Balinese literature as such, but of Old-Javanese, and these came to be known as Middle-Javanese. These Old-Javanese or Middle-Javanese works, which are read and copied even today, set the norm for literary works. Of this Middle-Javanese literature, the poetical composition in native metre called *Kidung*, had probably its beginning in Kaḍiri

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[10] Vide Pigeaud, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 122. Hazeu had observed in his *Oud en Nieuw uit de Javaansche Letterkunde* (1921), pp. 6-7, that this literature was a futile attempt to imitate the Old-Javanese literature, while Berg in his *Hoofdlijnen*, op. cit., pp. 16-17 has expressed the view that the New-Javanese literature of Mataram is to be viewed as a restoration or resurrection of the old literature of Central Java and that the difference between the Old-Javanese literature and the New-Javanese literature is due to historical reasons.

[11] For these languages see, *Encyclo. Ned. Ind.*, s.v. *Javaansch*, pp. 211 ff.

[12] Bernet Kempers in *Tjan Tjee Siem* in TBG 84 (1950).

110050

in the thirteenth century,[13] and the *Bṛhaspatitattva* and the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* testify to its popularity.[14] The *Kidungs* were sometimes sung and the singers were possibly designated *Vidu Mangkidung,* but the point is not free from difficulties, because these terms occur in the inscriptions of Central Java centuries before the birth of the Middle-Javanese *Kidungs*.[15] It is however quite conceivable that the *Vidu Mangkidungs* continued their ancient vocations in a newer idiom. Pigeaud thinks that specimens of such native metres have been reflected in the Malay *Pontoons* and in the *pĕrikan*-style composition of Java.[16]

Sanskrit language and literature gatecrashed into this empire of Indonesian languages, as they had nothing in common. It was not surprising that the author of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (7th-8th century) considered the language of Karmaraṅga, Nāḍīkeradvipa, Vāruṣakadvipa, Nagnadvīpa, Balidvīpa and Yavadvīpa as full of r-sound, indistinct and rough.[17] The Indonesian languages are mono-syllabic or di-syllabic, but they have no genders, case, number and inflexions, as in Sankrit, nor do they form compound words or *samāsas,* though Sanskrit *sandhi*-rules have been followed here and there. The sequence of words normally determines the structure and meaning of the sentence. In this sphere the influence of Sanskrit is necessarily limited: its contribution mainly lies in the sphere of loan-words, rhetoric and prosody. Besides, Sanskrit authors have given the Indonesian writers the theme of their works, but structurally the two languages belong to two different worlds. Sanskrit loan-words have however made deep inroads not only into the vocabulary of Java, but also into that of Malacca, Palembang and contiguous areas of Sumatra, a part of Borneo, several coastal regions of Celebes and contiguous hinterland. Even remote people like the Papuans of North Guinea have some Sanskrit words in their vocabulary. It has however been recognised that its impact has been far-reaching in Old-Javanese. Gonda has pointed out that, in the Old-Javanese-Dutch Dictionary of Juynboll there are 6790 Sanskrit words, while the number of Old-Javanese words does not exceed 6925. In the Malay dictionaries, the number of Sanskrit words will not be less than 750. In the Old-Javanese *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa,* the ratio of Sanskrit and Old-Javanese words is 4:9; in the *Kidung Sunda,* written in Middle-Javanese, the ratio is 1:4. Broadly speaking, the ratio of Sanskrit and Old-Javanese words in the *Kakavins* is 1:4 or 2:7.[18] Gonda has pointed out that there are some Sanskrit words included in the Malay Dictionary of Pigafetta (A.D. 1521) consisting of a vocabulary of 424 words. Similarly, a Malaccan dictionary, consisting of 482 words and compiled by a Chinese author during A.D. 1403-1511, contains some Sanskrit words.[19] In the Buginese vocabulary of South Celebes, there are some Sanskrit words denoting business, utensils, religion, *āgama,* administration and social life.[20] In the Bari-language of Central Celebes, in Bimanese, Rotinese, Mangarai (Flores), Sasak (Lombok) and Busang (Central Celebes), we find a number of Sanskrit loan-words. If we proceed further to the Philippines, we shall detect in Tagalog about 250 Sanskrit words, of which the majority refers to trade, commerce and material objects. Nor are Sanskrit loan-words absent from the Indo-Chinese peninsula. In the Cām-French dictionary edited by Aymonier and Cabaton in 1906, there are about 700 Sanskrit words in a vocabulary of 9350.[21] If loan-words be any indication regarding the extent and depth of Indian influences in these areas it would appear that the strongest influence was projected upon the island of Java.

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[13] In the *Pararaton* (ed. Brandes-Krem, *VBG* 62, 1920, pp. 24-33, reference has been made to a kidung work called Vukir Poleman (Hill of Fish-tank), written by Haji Jaya Katvang, the last ruler of Kaḍiri, where some new metres seem to have been evolved. The tengahan metre, which represents an intermediate stage between Sanskrit metre and native metre flourished in Kaḍiri; a Kaḍiri-metre is also in existence. Another ballad metre of the Middle Ages of Java is called *Vukir, Ukir* or *Adri.* Indeed, the *kidung* literature of the first phase is so closely connected with Kadiri and Java Katvang that they must have had something to do with its development.

[14] In the *Bṛhaspatitattva* (ed. S. Devi), p. 51, we read: ". . . they are happy by accepting a husband or wife, happy with the supporting music of instruments, *kidung* and *gupita-gupitan* poems." In the 14th century, the *kidungs* had become so popular that King Hayam Vuruk, overwhelmed by the beauty of the Pĕnggung Mountain composed a *kidung* in the native metre (*Nāg.* 58: 1; also 30:1).

[15] Vide Goris, Inscription of Kamalagi (Kuburan Caṇḍi), 743 Śaka in *TBG* 70 (1930), pp. 157-170; Kern, Copper-plates of Gĕḍangan, 782 Śaka in *VG,* VII, pp. 17-53, etc.

[16] Pigeaud, *op. cit.,* p. 501. Gonda thinks (*op. cit.,* p. 109), that such pontoons were neither prose works nor poems. From the view-point of historical development they were in existence before prose and poetical composition took place.

[17] *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* II, p, 332.

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[18] For a discussion on this subject Vide Gonda, *op. cit.,* pp. 115-16, 119-20, 121.

[19] Gonda in BKI, XCVII, pp. 101 ff and *Sanskrit in Indonesia,* pp. 36-37. Vide also W. Kern in *TBG,* 78 (1938), pp. 271-73.

[20] Gonda, *op. cit.,* pp. 38-48.

If we now turn our attention to the islands lying to the West of Java, we shall indeed find many Sanskrit words in the Achehnese vocabulary. Gonda has stated that there are 155 Indian words in Karo-Batak and 175 in Toba-Batak of Sumatra. The names of Indian week days are current among these people, even as some terms of astronomical and astrological significance.[22] To the further South, in the island of Nisa, there are at least 60 Sanskrit words. The neighbouring islands of Mentaway and Simalur have also received, through Nias, some Sanskrit words. Even such a remote island as Madagascar has adopted the names of Indian months.[23] Besides Sanskrit, some Tamil loan-words have also penetrated into some places of Indonesia, and Malay alone can boast of a corpus of 105.[24] It has been observed that Tamil loan-words in Indonesian vocabulary increased considerably between the 15th and the 19th centuries on account of the commercial activities of the orang kĕling i.e., people of Kaliṅga (which denoted, in a general way, the Tamils, South Indians and even Indians in general), the Hindu and Muslim Tamils of the port-areas of Malacca and adjacent tracts who kept their accounts in Tamil. These loan-words, from the nature of the case, belong mainly to the domain of trade and commerce. In Javanese, however, the Tamil and Prākṛt loan-words are very few.[25] It has however, to be recorded that Sanskrit words of common use are not now-a-days as numerous as they used to be in ancient times.

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[21] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 62-3.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 68, f.n. 102 and 103 on p. 78.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 89 with literature cited therein. See also Anjaneyulu, *Tamil words in Indonesian and Malay languages in Tamil Culture*, IX (1961).

[25] Drewes, *The effect of western influence on native civilisations in the Malay Archipelago*, 1929, p. 126.

The propagation of this language was made not only by the Indian Brāhmaṇas and other Indians, but also by the Malays, Malaccans and Javans who had been subjected to strong Indian influences. In the days of the Srīvijaya/Śailendra and Majapahit empires, which were Hinduized to a large extent, their wide authority facilitated the dissemination of Indian cultural values in their far-flung dominions.

Brandes has stated[26] that there were three stages in the introduction of Sanskrit words in Indonesia. In the first stage, Sanskrit words were small in number: these entered into the Old-Javanese vocabulary through oral speech and propagated through hearing. In the second stage, the number grew large: these written words were studied and consequently the spelling was almost correct. In the third or final stage, the specimens of Sanskrit writing, as found in Java and Sumatra, were found to be full of grammatical and spelling mistakes. During this time, specially in the Majapahit period, the numerous Sanskrit words used in Java were perhaps adapted to the daily parlance[27] and found a permanent place in the native vocabulary in a somewhat changed form.

The art of writing in ancient Indonesia and Malaysia was derived, at the initial stage, from southern India, as a study of the inscriptions of these places would testify. Out of this Pallava-Grantha character was evolved the Old-Javanese script, of which the oldest peculiarities appear in the Dinaja inscription of 760 A.D.[28] The Pre-Nāgarī script also appears in the eighth century A.D. and proto-Bengali script, some centuries later on, but these were severely limited in time and space and did not permanently affect the evolution of a national script for the countries constituting the Malayo-Indonesian world. The Pallava-

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[26] *TBG*, XXXII (1889), pp. 112 ff., 129 ff.

[27] CF. Pigeaud, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 181.

[28] Vide in this connection Kern *VG*, VII, pp. 67 ff; Krom, *HJG*, p. 5; Gonda, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

Grantha character, as adapted in Java, led to the development of Sundanese, Madurese and Balinese scripts. The Sumatran script of the Middle Ages, as we know it, has also evolved out of this script. The Batak hand-writing is merely a variation of the Indonesian Pallava-script. The Rĕjang and Lampong scripts of South-Sumatra bear striking resemblance with the Old-Javanese script, which has evolved out of Pallava-Grantha characters. Even the remote Cām-handwriting has developed out of the Indian script. The emergence of native languages in the records of South-East Asia also occurs in about the same time as in South India, where the Pallava records of the 7th century A.D. begin to use the Tamil language. It may not be quite accidental that old or proto-Malay came to be used in Sumatra, Khmer in Cambodia, Cām in Campā and Old-Javanese in Java without great difference of time lag among them.[29] In a large part of the Malayo-Indonesian world, the writing materials were the *patra* or kajang-leaves, just as palm-leaves were used in India, but instead of pen many of them used sharp knives to inscribe the letters with.[30]

The emergence of Central Java, with a Hindu cultural background, promoting art and architecture in the Dieng-Plateau, nursing the scholastic activities of Jñānabhadra and Huining who also used the native language for facility of their work, must have created the necessary climate for the development of Old-Javanese literature. The advent of a superior culture in the plateaus and valleys of Central Java gave the literary effort a new purpose and diction which flowered into the Old-Javanese literature of the 9th-10th century. Chinese references about Kouen-louen, the Proto or Old-Malay inscriptions and the role of native languages in scholarly works of Jñānabhadra and Huining seem to indicate that some kind of Indonesian language already existed in Java-Sumatra in the second half of the seventh century A.D. On the matrix of this Indonesian language were introduced Sanskrit words in increasingly large numbers, and this led to the growth of Old-Javanese as a literary vehicle. The period of this experimentation possibly covered the years from c. 650 to 850 A.D.

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[29] Chhabra in *JASB-L* (1935), p. 63.

[30] Groeneveldt, *notes*, pp. 40, 52, 58, 135.

The composition of Sanskrit-Old-Javanese Dictionaries, simple grammars to learn Sanskrit, and similar types of works possibly took place during this period. Of the three books which may tentatively be placed before the tenth century A.D., the lexicography called *Amaramālā* which refers to King Jitendra of the Śailendra dynasty may be assigned to a period lying within c. A.D. 775-850, when the Śailendra rulers held sway over Central Java. The earliest dated Old-Javanese work is from A.D. 996, which ushers in the classical age of Indo-Javanese literature from c. A.D. 996 to 1400. The patronage extended by the East-Javanese rulers, beginning with Dharmmavaṃśa and Airlangga and continued by the royal house of Kaḍiri, Sinhasari and Majapahit, principally contributed to the flowering of this wonderful Indo-Javanese literature.

When we study the Indo-Javanese or Indo-Balinese literature, we are astonished at the wide range of the subjects dealt with in it. In 1929, the Kirtya Liefrink van der Tuuk published a list of the literary works available and classified them under the following heads: (1) the *Vedas* (as known under that name in Bali), *mantras* and *kalpaśāstra*: 177 MSS; (2) *Āgama* or *Dharmaśāstras*, *Śāsana* and *Nitisāhitya*: 63 MSS; (3) *Vāriga* or *Jyotiṣa*, moral teachings (*tutur*), cosmogony, *Kāṇḍa* or grammar, prosody, folk-tales, professional literature, *uṣada*: 592 MSS; (4) *Itihāsa*, including prose-*parvans*, *Kakavin* or poems in Sanskrit metre, *Kidung* or native ballads or stories in native metres, *gaguritan* MSS 159; (5) *Babad* or historical works, including *pamancangs* or genealogical stories: MSS 35; (6) *Tantri* or fables, the source being Sanskrit or native stories: MSS 9. In 1950, Poerbatjaraka and other scholars brought out a further account of Indonesian MSS to enrich the list described above. This classification of the Old and Middle-Javanese literature serves to show the immense compass and richness of this literature.

The *Vedas*, as such, are not known to exist in Bali or any other place of Indonesia, though the name is quite well-known there. Goris has stated that by *Vedas* the Balinese understood nothing but *tuturs* or *mantras*, charms, etc., because, while translating the word *gūḍhamantra* of the *Arjunavivāha* into Balinese the word has been translated by the word *Vedda*.[31] The proof may not however be deemed to be conclusive, because what the Balinese gloss-writer seemed to convey was that the *gūḍhamantra* was as secret as the *Vedas* were. It may be recalled that there were *Veda*-knowing *ṛtvik* priests who installed the image of Agastya in A.D. 760, as the Dinaja-inscription tells us.[32] Their compatriots do not appear to have given up the study of the *Vedas,* because, according to the testimony of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama,* the Holy Bhāmana had "penetrated the *Vedas*" and Viṣṇu was proficient in *Sāma japa* i.e., *Sāmaveda* incantations.[33] It would indeed appear surprising that in spite of the steady arrival of the *vipras* or Brāhmaṇas from India to Java, at least up to 1365 A.D.,[34] the Brāhmaṇa of Java would not study the *Vedas.* Even as late as the last quarter of the 15th century, Brahmarāja-Gaṅgādhara has been described in an inscription as *Mahādvijaśreṣtha* (the greatest of the twice-born), *caturvedapāraga* (who has mastered the four *Vedas*) and *sarvaśāstraparisamāpta* (who has completed the study of all the scriptures).[35] The description does not appear, from the context of the inscription, to be meaningless. Here the four *Vedas* do not obviously mean the four *tuturs.* It is not unlikely that the Brāhmaṇas of Java studied the *Vedas* there, but that these works have either been lost or are kept as precious secret treasure by the Balinese *padaṇḍas* from the profane gaze of the non-Brahmins. Be that as it may, the names of books having the component word *Veda* in them deal with *mantras* or *stutis* of different kinds, but, by and large, no full *mantra* or *stuti* has so far been discovered in India.[36] For example, the *Caturvēda,* though somewhat corrupt, reveals some semblance with the *Nārāyaṇātharvaśīrṣopaniṣad,* but what is known in Bali as *Atharvavedaśiras*[37] has no similarity with Upaniṣadic

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[31] Goris, Theologie, p. 144; see C. Hooykaas, *Veda and Śiṣya, Ṛṣi and Bhujangga* in BKI 120, (1964), pp. 231 ff.

[32] Latest edition by De Casparis in *TBG* 81 (1941), pp. 499 ff.

[33] *Nāg.,* 83: 3, 3-4.

[34] *Ibid.,* 83:4; 93:1.

[35] *OJO,* XCIV and XCV.

[36] The Balinese texts have been published by S. Levi, *Sanskrit texts from Bali* (Gaekwad Oriental Series, no. 67, 1933).

[37] Levi, *op. cit.,* pp. 5-6.

Atharvavedaśiras. What has been preserved in Bali are the *Ṛk, Yajus* and *Sāmavedaśiras* which are sung, not recited, on the first day of the bright half of the month and on *pūrṇimā* i.e., full-moon nights. Other *mantras* include *Vedaparikramasārasaṃhitākiraṇa,*[38] in which many subsidiary *mantras* accompanied by various *mudrās, prāṇāyāma, nyāsa, kumbhaka, pūraka, recaka,* etc. The *Buddhaveda* is similarly the daily hymn for performing Buddhist rituals in *Tantrik* way, and some parts of them are well-known in Nepal.[39] A famous *śloka* in the *Udānavarga,* Pali *Dhammapada* and the *Sarvāstivāda-Pratimokṣasūtra,* in a briefer form, inscribed on the hill of the Swat region, is now found, several thousand miles away, in a MS of Bali.[40] *Me-Veda* also bears a similar stamp. Indeed, there is no trace of *Vedic mantra* to be found anywhere in Indonesia, excepting the fragment of the famous *Gāyatrī-mantra* (*Bhargodevasya dhīmahī*),[41] but Gonda has drawn our attention to the fact that the *Gāyatrī-mantra* has also been independently quoted in the post-*Vedic* and post-*epic* works of India like the *Saura* and the *Kālikāpurāṇa.*[42] The *mantras,* hymns or *stotras* discovered in Bali have been dedicated to Sūrya, Śrī, Sarasvatī, Vāyu, Pṛthivī, Yama, Bāsuki, Umā, Gaṅgā, Ākāśa, Gaṇapati, Agni, Indrāṇī, Pitṛ, Rati, Varuṇa, etc. The rituals in connection with the worship of various gods and goddesses contained, in appropriate cases, *śarīramantra, sthitimantra, astramantra, karaśuddhi, caturaṅgula, prāṇāyāmamantra, udakāñjali, pādyārghya, acamanīya,* etc. These are also called *Vedas.*

The Buddhist *stutis* or hymns are also substantial in number and they include *Pañcadaśarasastuti, Śrī Yajurveda Buddhastuti,* Bauddha *Mūlastuti, Vajrānalastuti, Sarvasiddhistuti,* etc. Most of these *stutis* or hymns belong to the school of *Tantric* Buddhism, and some of them, as for instance, the *sarvasiddhistuti,* betrays local influence. Brāhmaṇic influence on many of the *stutis* is also quite distinct in many cases.

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[38] *Ibid.,* pp. 7 ff; Gonda, *op.cit.,* p. 110.

[39] Levi, *op.cit.,* p. XXX.

[40] *Ibid.,* pp. XXX ff.

[41] *Ṛgveda,* 3, 62, 10; Goris, *Theologie,* p. 144.

[42] *Saurapurāṇa,* 18.34; 41. 76; 72. 19; 44. 60; *Kālikāpurāṇa,* 66. 22, etc. The Section of the *Gāyatrī mantra* quoted above is part of the *Śivasūtramantra* beginning with *yajñopavītam paramam pavitram,* which occurs in the *Āraṇyaka, Baudhāyana, Vaikhānasa and Pāraskara gṛhyasūtra.* Vide Goris, *op. cit.,* pp. 45 ff and Levi, *op. cit.,* p. XVI.

Besides *mantras,* charms and incantations also were (and still are) widely current in large areas of the Malayo-Indonesian world.[43]

The theological background of some of these *mantras,* or even segments of these *mantras,* could no doubt be traced to India, but the full *mantra,* in the correct sequence of Balinese specimens, has not yet been traced to India. Considering the conservative nature in religious matters, as revealed generally in the construction of *caṇḍis* according to *śilpaśāstras* and the fashioning of divine images, as portrayed in sculpture, and considering further that these deities were worshipped both in India and Indonesia, it seems less likely that the *mantras* of well-known deities were composed in Java or Bali, though this possibility cannot be altogether ruled out in regard to obscure deities. The *mantras* have changed very little since the days of the *sūtras;* so the deviations in the *mantras* of Bali, if these be so, would underline the necessity for a more comprehensive probe than has hitherto been done.

Of the *Purāṇas,* only the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* has been found in Java in a prose and a poetical recension. Gonda thinks that the work (prose) may be referred to the 10th-11th century.[44] There are many Sanskrit words in this work and their ratio to Old-Javanese would be 4:9.[45] The subject-matter of this work has been taken, for the major part, directly from a Sanskrit recension, although in certain sections, it sometimes better tallies with the *Vāyu, Matsya* or even the *Varāha purāṇa.* It appears from a comparison of the Old-Javanese text with the Calcutta recension of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* that the arrangement of the topics differs. The Old-Javanese prose recension has a poetical version in eighteen *sargas* called the *Pṛthuvijaya* or *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa Kakavin*, composed by Aṣṭaguṇa, probably in the 12th century A.D. Many stories of *Purāṇic* style and others of mainly cosmogonical nature have been discovered in Bali. The *Tantu Panggĕlaran, Manik Maya, Agastyaparva, Tattva savang suvung, Ādipuraṇa,* etc., belong to this genre. The *Tantu Panggĕlaran* consists of seven chapters.[46] A perusal of the work would sometimes waft the reader to an Indian atmosphere, but the framework is un-Indian and some of the beliefs may even revert to Pre-Hindu times. These elements, coupled with floating anecdotes of religious and cosmogonical nature brought from India or South-East Asia, mixed up with contemporary *Tantric* and other practices of Indonesia, have created this strange work. It may have been composed between the 14th and the 16th century. The *Manik Maya,*[47] also of cosmogonical nature, has incorporated many stories and anecdotes which we come across in the *Ādiparva, Tantu Panggĕlaran* and other Javanese and Indian traditions. According to Veth, the work, as we have it, was composed in 1725 A.D.[48] The *Tattva savang suvung,*[49] another cosmogonical work, deals with the story of the creation of the gods, planets, men, women, etc. The work *Ādipuraṇa*[50] is at once a mixture of *saṃhitā, puraṇic* stories and dynastic lists; it also recounts the duties of persons of various categories to one another, etc. The hero of the story is Bismanagara, the King of Praṣṭanagara, who travelled in various places in a spiritual quest for salvation. The *Agastyaparva,*[51] another work of *Paurāṇic* nature, bears the influence of the *Rāmayaṇa,* the *Mahābhārata* and ethical literature. The questions made by Dṛḍhasyu and answered by his father Bhagavān Agastya led to the narration of the story of creation, of gods, Manus, the planets, sins, the consequences of conducting worship with faulty rituals, etc. Another important work of this category is the *Bhuvanapurāṇa,* an Old-Javanese work, which presents us, in right *purāṇic* style, a dialogue between Parameśvara and Vaśiṣṭha in Kailāsa about *caturāśrama* and the *varṇas.*

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[43] H. B. Sarkar, *Indian Influences,* pp. 74-78; Skeat, *Malay Magic* (1900; 1965).

[44] Gonda, *Het Oudjavaansche Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa,* Bibliotheca Javanica 5 and (1932-33); Ibid., The Old-Javanese *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* in *Purāṇa* II (1960), pp. 252-67.

[45] Gonda, *Sanskrit in Indonesia,* p. 119.

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[46] Text and translation by Pigeaud, 1924; an English summary may be seen in H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.,* pp. 142 ff.

[47] For summary and older literature on the subject, vide H. B. Sarkar, *op.cit.,* pp. 144 ff.

[48] Quoted by Vreede, *Catalogue* (1892), pp. 13 ff.; Gonda, *De Letterkunde van de Indische Archipel,* pp. 28-29.

[49] For summary and older literature, vide H. B. Sarkar, *op.cit.,* p. 155.

[50] Vide H. B. Sarkar, *op.cit.,* pp. 155 ff.; for older literature vide Juynboll, *Supplement,* II, pp. 172 ff.; Pigeaud, *Tantu,* pp. 304 ff.

[51] Ed. Gonda in *BKI,* 90 (1933), pp. 329-419 and *BKI,* 92, pp. 331-458.

There are some Old-Javanese theological and philosophical works which betray considerable influence projected by the Śaiva and Buddhist writings of the *Tantric* schools. A work of this category is the *Bhuvanakoṣa,*[52] a *yoga*-manual of the Śaiva-school, which discusses some theological and philosophical questions in eleven *paṭalas* or chapters. There are Sanskrit *ślokas* in the work followed by Old-Javanese translation or annotation. A work of similar nature is the *Bhuvanasaṃkṣepa;*[53] it also contains some Sanskrit *ślokas* followed by Old-Javanese translation. In this work, Umā and Kumāra seek instructions from Īśvara or Śiva. The most important section of this work deals with *Paramatattva* which extols non-existence or *śūnyatā,* which is a familiar doctrine in the *Tantrik* philosophy of the Buddhist and Śaiva schools of thought. The *Bṛhaspatitattva,*[54] perhaps also called *Śivatattva,* deals with Śaiva philosophy. It has seventy-four Sanskrit *ślokas* with long or short annotations in Old-Javanese. It opens with a dialogue between Bhaṭṭāraka Īśvara and Bṛhaspati about the essence of pure knowledge and might have been composed and elaborated for the benefit of those who believed in *Tantrik* Saivism. The *Tattva sang hyang Mahājñāna,*[55] interspersed with verses and written in *Paurāṇic* style, deals with various aspects of *liṅga*-worship.

Of Buddhist theological and philosophical works, the most important one is the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan,*[56] of which a part constituted the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānan Mantranaya.*[57] The *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* was probably composed in Central Java during the Śailendra hegemony and revised during the reign of King Siṇḍok (A.D. 929-947) of East-Java by Sambharasūryāvaraṇa who had also composed a work called *Subhūtitantra,* a favourite work of King Kṛtanagara (A.D. 1268-92).[58] Goris has creditably distinguished three layers in the composition of the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan.*[59] The oldest layer may be about one hundred years older than the *Virāṭaparva* of Java, which was composed in A.D. 996.[60] It is manual of the Buddhists belonging to the Vajrayāna school. The *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānan Mantranaya* consists of 42 Sanskrit *ślokas* followed by Old-Javanese annotation.

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[52] Goris, *op.cit.,* p. 77; H. B. Sarkar, *op.cit.,* pp. 34 ff.
[53] Goris, *op. cit.,* pp. 96.; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.,* 43 ff
[54] Ed. Sudarshana Devi, 1957.
[55] Vide H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.,* pp. 55 ff.
[56] Ed. Kats, 1910.
[57] Ed. Wulff, 1935.

The *Āgamas* or *Dharmmaśāstras* of Java and Bali may be studied under the heads of *nīti*-stories and *nīti-śāstras* or *tutur.* Regarding *Āgama,* the *Bṛhaspatitattva* says: *āgama ngaranya ikang aji inupapattyan de sang guru yeka āgama ngaranya* i.e. '*āgama* means the instructions given by the *guru* or preceptor. In the story of *kuñjarakarṇa,*[61] Dhyānī Buddha Vairocana instructs Kuñjarakarṇa, a cursed Yakṣa, about *dharma* and *Vinaya,* and guides him through various religious experiences. In the *Bhuvanatattvaparicaya,*[62] the writer has given an account of the previous life of Kuñjarakarṇa and Pūrṇavijaya. Both these works refer to the fruits of *karma,* transmigration of soul, meditation, salvation, etc. Kern assigned the work to the twelfth century, while Juynboll and some others are inclined to place it in the fourteenth century. Other works of this category, though not so well-known, include the *Palutuk,*[63] *Nitivrata,*[64] *Raṇayajña,*[65] etc.

We should now like to discuss *Rājapatiguṇḍala.*[66] It was probably composed in the thirteenth century A.D. It is said to be composed by King Bhatati who seems to be identical with King Kṛtanagara. It deals with various stages of religious life, discusses about persons who can be *yogīśvara, devaguru,* their rights, gradation of people, etc. Another book of this class is the *Pranīti raja kapa kapa,* of which a modern recension has been composed in the *daṇḍang-gub* metre.[67] The work consists of ten *ślokas,* each of ten feet.[67a] It deals with the duties of royal officials and court etiquette. Another book of this genre is the *Navanatya,* which also deals with etiquette at the royal court.[68] The *Kāmandaka Rājanīti,* which has nothing in common with the Sanskrit text, is a manual of administration for Princes and administrators.[69] The work called *Nitipraya,* said to be written by Viṣṇu and edited by Vyāsa, was composed for King Suparkadeva of Ayodhyā, about to be attacked by his enemy, Aji Vangvang of Danavu-avu.[70] The King, following the advice of Nitipraya became victorious. The *Nītiśāstra Kakavin,* well-known in Bali as *Nītisāra* has 120 stanzas in fifteen cantos.[71] It was probably composed towards the end of the Majapahit period. Scattered Sanskrit *ślokas* are found in the work and it contains many aphorisms or sayings based on religion and ethics. The *Sārasamuccaya*[72] also contains many *ślokas*, which have been traced into the *Ādi*, *Udyoga* and *Anuśāsana parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Pañcatantra*, the *Hitopadeśa*, etc. It might have been composed in the fourteenth century A.D. Another Old-Javanese work of this genre is the *Ślokāntara*[73] which contains eighty-three Sanskrit *ślokas*. The *Tattva ning vyavahāra*[74] which is not perhaps very old discusses the origin of the four *varṇas*, the duties of Kings, etc.

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[58] *Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan,* p. 118; Krom, *HJG,* pp. 219, 220.

[59] Goris, *op. cit.,* pp. 151-156.

[60] Wulff, *op. cit.,* p. 10.

[61] Ed. Kern, 1901. See also *TBG* 56 (1914), pp. 365 ff. For a summary see H. B. Sarkar, *op.cit.,* pp. 83-87. For a study of its religion, vide Krom *Borobudur,* II, pp. 302 ff.

[62] Juynboll, *Supplement,* I (1907), cod. 5023(1); H. B. Sarkar, *op.cit.,* pp. 85-86.

[63] H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.,* p. 88.

[64] Cod. 3623(1) in Juynboll, *Supplement* II; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.,* p. 88.

[65] Juynboll, *op. cit.,* cod. 3868(3); H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.,* p. 88.

[66] Pigeaud, *Java in the fourteenth century,* Vol. I, pp. 87-90, (text) and Vol. III, pp. 129-37 (translation).

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[67] Pigeaud, *op.cit.,* Vol. I, pp. 92-96 (text); Vol. II, pp. 127-30; Vol. III, pp. 139-40, translation; see also Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 288, 370-377.

[67.a] The use of the word *pāda* would have been very nice from the viewpoint of a Sanskritist but the Sanskrit term *pāda* i.e., fourth-part of a regular stanza, known to Javanese and Sundanese, denotes both a stanza and a punctuation mark of stop between lines or at the end of a phrase or sentence. This extended sense is not known to Sanskrit. The classical stanzas in Old-Javanese consist of four *pādas* or verses, as in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama,* for instance, but in those in other works, e.g., the *Praniti Raja Kapa Kapa,* written in Daṇḍanggula metre, where there are ten *pādas* or verses in each stanza, the syllables vary between six and twelve. In view of the somewhat different shade in the meaning of *pāda* in Old-Javanese and Sundanese, it is felt that the use of the term 'feet' may be less ambiguous.

[68] Pigeaud, *op. cit.,* Vol. I, pp. 81-86; Vol. III, pp. 119-28; Vol. IV, pp. 351-9.

[69] C. Hooykaas in *JGIS,* 15 (1966), pp. 18-34, with literature cited therein.

[70] Raffles, *History of Java* I (1830), pp. 288 ff; C. Hooykaas, *op. cit.,* pp. 34-47.

[71] Ed. Poerbatjaraka, Bibliotheca Javanica, no. 4 (1933). For its modern version, one may study Mounier's paper in *Tijdschr. Neerland. Ind.,* 5th year (1843), 2nd part, p. 236 ff.

Many of the Old-Javanese works on Jurisprudence which we propose to discuss now are based on the *Manusaṃhitā*.[75] Indeed, the *Pūrvādhigama* has clearly stated that a *prāḍvivak* or judge must be "an *ācārya* whose knowledge in all *śāstras* like *Dharmaśāstra*, *Kuṭaramānava*, *Sārasamuccaya*, *Cānakya*, *Kāmandaka*, etc. shall be complete".[76] The *Kuṭaramānava*, edited by Jonker,[77] was largely based upon the *Manusaṃhitā*, specially its eighth and ninth chapters. It deals with civil and criminal cases, and its authority in Java and Bali was unrivalled. The *Pūrvādhigama*, to which reference has been made above has been called *Śivaśāsana* in some colophons of the MSS[78] and, according to Van Naerssen, this work has been referred to in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (81:1). It has perhaps to be dated in the beginning of the thirteenth century or the commencement of the Majapahit period (after c. 1292 A.D.). It discusses about Śaiva *dharmmamahāmātras*, *dharmmādhyakṣas*, different *bhujanggas*, etc. The law-book, *Svarajambhu*, is based mainly upon the *Manusaṃhitā*, specially its eighth chapter which deals with *asṭādaśavyavahāra*. The Sanskrit *ślokas* have been beautifully translated into Old-Javanese, but the annotations are sometimes original.[79] It is noteworthy that some Sanskrit *ślokas* of the eighth chapter of the *Manusaṃhitā* deemed to be interpolations have been found in the Old-Javanese work. Van Naerssen has placed the work to the fourteenth century. The *Ādigama*[80] is a late Old-Javanese law-book. It discusses about *aṣṭaduṣṭa*, *aṣṭacora*, the rules of grazing, etc. Another law-book is the *Krama ning sākṣī*.[81] It also contains some Sanskrit *ślokas*, even as the law-books called *Aṣṭādaśavyavahāra*, *Devadaṇḍa*, *Ṛṣiśāsana*, etc., do. It is difficult to say how far these law-books were followed in practice, because there were inherent stresses between Hindu laws dominated by their caste-system and the Indonesian customary-laws or *adat*.

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[72] Ed. Raghuvira, 1962.

[73] Ed. Sharada Rani, 1957.

[74] H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

[75] Its influence is reflected in the *Bhomakāvya* (1/5); inscriptions like *KO*, XVI, *OJO*, LXXXV; Ṛṣiśāsana (Vide Pigeaud, *Tantu*, p. 300).

[76] Text in *BKI*, 100 (1941), pp. 359-60.

[77] Jonker, *Een oudjavaansche wetboek vergeleken met Indische rechtsbronnen*, 1885.

[78] Van Naersson in *BKI*, Vol. 100 (1941), p. 358.

[79] *Ibid.*, pp. 364-65, 372 and f.n. 2.

The irresistible appeal of the Old-Javanese epics and the *Kakavins* often blur our vision, and we are apt to forget that their brilliance and polish are due to Sanskrit rhetoric and prosody, enriched further by its lexicographical literature. The influence of Sanskrit grammar, though not pronounced, is not altogether absent. Of the Old-Javanese works falling under this category, the *Svaravyañjana*[82] deals with Sanskrit phonetics, explaining terms like *ekamātra*, *dvimātra*, *guru*, *laghu*, *antaḥsvara*, *anunāsika*, *tālavya*, *sandhi*-rules, etc., which were explained by Old-Javanese paraphrases. The *Kārakasaṃgraha*,[83] another work, describes itself in the colophon as "a compendium dealing with the endings indicating the relations between a noun and a verb". The work accordingly deals with nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative and genetive cases. Gonda says that some of the definitions given come very near to Sarvavarman's *Kātantra* which is expressly stated to be the basis of this work.[84] It also refers to a text called *Mahātantra* and designates Pāṇini as a *kavīndra* or foremost of the poets. A MS of this name refers to Vararuci.[85] That *Candravyākaraṇa* was also studied appears from a reference to it in copper-plate No. 3 of Sĕkar, Bajanĕgara, where ḍang ācārya Nādendra, Superintendent of the Buddhist institutions, has been described as having completed the grammar of Candra.[86] In addition to grammar, there were texts to facilitate exercises from one language to another. One such work is *Kṛtabasa*[87] which is an abbreviation of *Samskṛtabhāṣā,* and constitutes a part of the *Svaravyañjana* described above. It gives lessons about learning Sanskrit by translating easy Sanskrit texts into Old-Javanese. Other books of this category are the *Ādisvara,*[88] *Sukṣavasa,*[89] Ekalavya,[90] etc. There is also an Old-Javanese Sanskrit lexicographical work which offers the Sanskrit equivalent of Old-Javanese words and multiple names of many Indian deities. Another important work is the *Caṇḍakiraṇa*[91] which may mean keen rays or be the corrupted form of *Chandaḥkiraṇa* (the rays of metres), *Chandaḥkaraṇa* (the making of *Chandaḥs*) or *Candra (vyā) karaṇa.* The first part of the work deals with metres; the last part is something like Sanskrit *śabdakoṣa* or lexicography and gives, in metres, the Old-Javanese equivalent of some Sanskrit words. In between is set a part wherein the name of the *Amaramālā* occurs. It has been stated that the work was composed by orders of the Śailendra King Jitendra who is otherwise unknown to Javanese epigraphy. It has been supposed[92] that the work was composed not to facilitate the learning of Sanskrit but to understand the Sanskrit words in the Old-Javanese texts. Poets of ancient Java have used Sanskrit rhetoric and prosody with remarkable efficiency and almost all the metres known to Sanskrit prosody have been used in the *Kakavins.* It is not therefore surprising that works on Sanskrit metres were composed, and of them the most important one is the *Vṛttasañcaya* written by Mpu

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[80] For details see H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

[81] *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

[82] Published by International Academy of Indian Culture, 1956; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 107 ff.

[83] S. Levi, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-88; Gonda, *Sanskrit in Indonesia*, p. 106.

[84] Gonda, *op.cit.*, p. 106; Levi, *op.cit.*, p. XXXI.

[85] Juynboll, *Supplement*, II, p. 215, no. 5075.

[86] H. B. Sarkar in *JGIS,* III (1936), pp. 108-12.

[87] Juynboll, *op. cit.,* p. 281; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.,* pp. 109 ff; Gonda, *op. cit.,* pp. 106-7.

[88] Juynboll, cod. 4009; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.,* p. 111.

[89] Juynboll, *op. cit.,* p. 216, no. 4518.

[90] *Ibid.,* cod. 3906 (1) and 5140 (2); H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.,* p. 111. It was supposed by Van der Tuuk (*KBNW* I, p. 146) as a corrupted form of ekalāpya, while Gonda (op. cit., p. 125 f.n. 38), thinks that it may stand for *ekārthalabhya* i.e., to be understood in the same meaning (as synonyms).

[91] Kern, *VG* IX, pp. 273 ff; see also Juynboll, *Supplement* I, pp. 170 ff; Gonda, *op. cit.,* p. 107.

[92] Among others by Gonda, *op. cit.,* p. 107. See also Kern, *VG,* IX, p. 281; Krom, *op. cit.,* p. 151.

Tanakung in about the twelfth century A.D.[93] It refers to Rāmasamuni in the fourth *śloka* and to Piṅgala and Piṅgalaśāstra in the seventh and one hundred ninth *śloka* respectively, but Kern's comparison of this *Chandaḥśāstra* with Sanskrit *Piṅgalachandaḥsūtra* and Kedāra's *Vṛttaratnākara* has not yielded any positive result.[94] The work under discussion has not dealt with metres measured by feet and those measured by prosodical instants. It has discussed theories, offered some illustrative stanzas and given examples of 96 Sanskrit metres. We have also fragments of other texts like the *Vṛttāyana* which deals with *vṛṣabhagativilasita* and *maṇiguṇanikara*.[95] The metres treated in the *Caṇṭakaparva*[96] are somewhat different from those of the *Vṛttasañcaya*. Gonda has drawn our attention to the fact that the Sanskrit term *śloka* i.e. stanza consisting of four quarters of eight syllables each has been preserved in Sundanese, where the term corrupted into *siloka*, denotes 'apotheqms', metaphorical sayings, especially when dealing with esoteric or religious lore, but more particularly to *pontoon*-style composition, which is neither prose nor poetry. Similarly, the Sanskrit term *pada* i.e. fourth-part of a regular stanza is known in Javanese and Sundanese but it denotes both a stanza and a punctuation mark or stop between lines or at the end of a phrase or sentence. The Old-Javanese authors have also shown commendable proficiency in the use of Sanskrit *alaṃkāra* like *anuprāsa, yamaka, apanhuti,* etc.[97] Even stereotyped descriptions of Sanskrit literature have been faithfully introduced in the Javanese *Kakavins*.

We also possess some works on the medical sciences (*uṣada*), astrology and astronomy. It is a common phenomenon in the medical literature of the Malayo-Indonesian world that deities have often been invoked. The native physicians of Malaysia called *Pavang* or *Bomor* even now use words of physiology and anatomy, which are essentially Sanskrit, e.g., *naḍi* (=*nāḍī*), *pañca inderiya* (= *pañca indriya*), *sendi* (= *sandhi* or joint of bones), *kapāla* (forehead), *roma* (hair), *selesem* (= *śleṣmā* or cough), *murca* (= *mūrchā* or swoon), *cerna* (= *jīrṇa* or digestion), etc. A complete Javanese work on *Uṣada* is preserved in the British Museum;[98] in this work physicians have been advised to utter *mamantranins* over the prepared medicine. Some of the works on *Uṣada* (cod. 4620, 3942, 3943 (1), etc.) invoke the names of Śiva-Bhaṭāra, Sivaliṅga or the names of Dhyānī Buddhas, etc. Goris has referred to the fact that about hundred works on *Uṣada* have been discovered in Bali, and some of them refer to *prāna, apāna, samana, sadana* (or *udana*), *byāna* and veins like *iḍā, piṅgala, suṣumna,* etc.[99] The *vāriga* or astronomical-astrological literature discusses *muhūrttalakṣaṇa, śubhācāradivasa,* five *kṣaṇas* of the day, etc.[100] A Cheribon MS refers to the various Indian *rāśis.* Most of the eight names in the Diviners' table of the *Bataks* of Central Sumatra are Indian. The ancient inscriptions of Indonesia, dating from comparatively early times prove the great assiduity with which the Indonesian people studied the science of time, constellation of stars, etc.[101] A detailed study of ancient times in the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca has been made by Braddell.[102]

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[93] First edited by Friederich in *VBG*, 1849 dl. XXII; Kern, *Oud-Javaansche Leordicht over verstoouw*, 1875; *VG*, IX (1920); H. B. Sarkar, *op.cit.*, pp. 115-17.

[94] Perhaps the publication of Yādavaprakāśa's ṭīkā on *Piṅgalachandaḥsūtra* will enable us to institute a fresh comparison.

[95] Juynboll, *Supplement* II, p. 491; Gonda, *op.cit.*, p. 108.

[96] Juynboll, *op.cit.*, ced. 4575.

[97] Aichele in *OLZ*, 29 (1926), p. 937; *Ibid.*, in *Djawa* II (1931); contributing a paper on Outward form of Kavi poesy. Vide also C. Hooykaas: The *Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa, an exemplary kakavin as to form and content*, *VKNAW*, 1958 and his *Indisch-Indonesische poezie*. See also H. B. Sarkar, *op.cit.*, p. 118-130.

We may now devote our attention to the study of the epics of India which found their way into the countries of South-East Asia. This must have happened at least in the sixth century A.D. if not earlier. It may be recalled that in a letter addressed to the Chinese Emperor in 515 A.D., Pa-ka-da-to, King of Langkasuka, a State on the eastern coast of Malaya, referred to the famous mountain Gandhamādana (which was uprooted by Hanumān in a famous episode of the *Rāmāyaṇa*) and this may accordingly indicate the acquaintance of some people with the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The epics became so popular in Indo-China that the Bhil Kantal inscription (sixth century)[103] of Kambuja refers to the daily chanting of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* while the Trakien inscription of Campā (seventh century)[104] refers to the institution of a temple of Vālmīki, whose image was installed therein. These stories have been further immortalised in the relief panels of Prambanan, Panataran, Angkor Vat, Bapuyon, etc. The oldest saga of South-East Asia, as preserved in writing, is the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*. Later recensions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* include such writings as the *Ramayana Sasak, Rama Kilng, Sĕrat Kanda, Rama Kidung Bali, Rama Tambang,* the *Ramakien* of Thailand, the *Hikayat seri Rama* of Malaya, the *Serat Rama* and numerous other less well-known recensions.[105] Kats has stated that in East Java alone there are some 1200 different versions of the *Rāma*-saga.[106]

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[98] *BKL*, 1883, p. 151.

[99] Vide Goris in *Djawa*, 1937, pp. 281-290; Gonda, *op. cit.*, p. 192 and f.n. 32. Cf. *Nāg.* cantos, VI and VII where some princesses have been compared to these veins; Vide also Weck, *Heilkunde und volkstum auf Bali*, 1937 and Skeat, *Malay Magic.*

[100] Cf. Malay Katik lima or five *muhūrttas.*

[101] For further references vide Raffles, *op. cit.*, I (1830), pp. 531 ff; Van Eck in *BKI*, 1883, p. 154; Juynboll, *Supplement* II, pp. 229, 237, 289-90; Goris, *Djawa*, XII (1932), pp. 310-12.

[102] Vide *JMBRAS*, Vols. XIII-XIX, (1935-41).

The Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* was written by Yōgīśvara, which seems to be a spiritual title of the poet.[107] His original name, according to the Balinese tradition,[108] was Rājakusuma or Kusumavicitra. The work is generally believed to have been composed in the first quarter of the tenth century A.D. or immediately thereafter during the reign of Sinḍok.[109] The *Kakavin* is divided into twentysix cantos consisting of 2774 strophes.[110] The work is partly a translation and partly an adaptation of the Sanskrit Bhaṭṭikāvya or *Rāvaṇavadha*[111] and has been written in various Sanskrit metres. The Old-Javanese *Uttarakāṇḍa* is, however, an independent work, almost a free translation of the Sanskrit work.[112] Of the Old-Javanese works based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, reference may be made to the poem *Sumanaśantaka* which means 'killed by flower'.[113] It was composed by Monaguna, as stated in canto 21:3, during the reign of King Varṣajaya of Kaḍiri (A.D. 1104). The work deals with the theme of Aja and Indumatī. The Old-Javanese poem *Hariśraya,* based on the *Uttarakāṇḍa,* recounts the combat between Viṣṇu and demons like Vajramuṣṭi Virupākṣa, Māli, Sumāli and others.[114] The *Arjunavijaya kakavin*[115] deals with the fight between Arjuna-sahasravāhu and Rāvaṇa. Its poet Mpu Tantular lived during the reign of Hayam Vuruk and composed the work after c. 1378 A.D.

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[103] *ISCC*, p. 30.

[104] *BEFEO*, XVIII, p. 149.

[105] Vide Juynboll, *Supplement* II, pp. 65 ff; Do, *Suppl. Cat. Sund. Bal. Sas. HSS* (1912), pp. 131 ff; Stutterheim, *Rama-legenden*, 1925. Regarding these later *Rāmāyaṇas*, see H. B. Sarkar, *op.cit.*, pp. 196-211.

[106] J. Kats, Het *Rāmāyaṇa op Javaansche tempel-reliefs*, p. 17.

[107] Vide Sudarshana Devi, Bṛhaspati Tattva, p. 48; Pigeaud, *Java in the fourteenth century*, in which the text of the *Rājapatiguṇḍala* gives the most detailed account of the Yogīśvaras, translation of the same in Vol. III, pp. 132ff.

[108] *VBG* XXII, no. 11, p. 12.

[109] For the date of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, see Poerbatjaraka in *BKI*, (1926), pp. 181-82 and *FKI* (1926), pp. 265-72; *TBG* 72 (1932), pp. 151-214; Goris in *Djawa* 7 (1927), pp. 268-9.

The *Mahābhārata* was also equally popular in Indonesia. Some *parvas* of the *Mahābhārata* were composed in East-Java during the reign of Dharmavaṃśa tguh Anantavikrama (A.D. 991-1007), by whose orders the *Ādi,*[116] *Virāṭa*[117] and *Bhīṣmaparva*[118] were composed. The date given in the *Virāṭaparva* is A.D. 996.

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[110] Kern edited the work under the title *Rāmāyaṇa Kakavin, Oud-Javaansche heldendicht,* 1900; Juynboll, *Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Glossarium op hot Oudjavaansch Rāmāyaṇa,* 1902; Kern translated the first six *sargas* in *BKI* and reprinted the same in *VG,* X (1922), pp. 77-140; Juynboll translated the remaining *sargas* in *BKI,* Vol. 78 (1922)-94 (1936). The so called interpolated passages were translated by C. Hooykaas in *BKI,* 113-114, (1957-58) and discussed them in *VKI* 16 (1955). An English summary of the book upto canto 20 may be seen in H. B. Sarkar, *op.cit.,* pp. 179-194.

[111] Vide H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.;* Ghosh in *JGIS,* III, pp. 113-7; C. Hooykaas, *VKI,* XVI, pp. 14 ff. with literature cited therein.

[112] H. B. Sarkar, *op.cit.,* p. 195.

[113] *Ibid.,* pp. 224 ff.

[114] *Ibid.,* pp. 229 ff.

[115] *Ibid.,* pp. 230 ff.

[116] Juynboll, *Ādiparwa,* 1906. For an English summary see H. B. Sarkar, *op.cit.,* pp. 236-240.

[117] Juynboll, *Wirāṭaparwa,* 1912; Wulff, *Den Wirāṭaparwa og dens Sanskrit origineel,* 1916; Gonda, *op.cit.,* pp. 113 ff; H. B. Sarkar, *op.cit.,* pp. 240-244.

[118] Ed. Gonda, *Het Oudjavaansche Bhīṣmaparwa,* 1936; see also his *Aanteekeningen bij het Oudjavaansche Bhīṣmaparwa* (1937).

The Old-Javanese recensions which sometimes contain Sanskrit verses to enhance the authority and sacred character of the work are not a faithful translation of the Sanskrit original, but partly an abridged paraphrase and partly a condensed translation of the original. The story-part is more episodic and has been treated in the author's (or authors') own language. Among other *parvas,* we have the *Udyoga*[119] abridged recensions of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth books of the *Mahābhārata.* The Old-Javanese *Bhagavadgīṭā*[120] is emboxed in the *Bhīṣmaparva,* but its original has not yet been found in India. It does not fully agree with the Kāśmīr-recension of the same nor is its quotation from the *Bhagavadgītā* to be found in Al-Biruni's work. The *Bhārata-yuddha,* an independent work based on the *Mahābhārata,* was composed by Mpu Śeḍah in A.D. 1157, during the reign of Jayabhaya, but when the poet fell into disgrace the work was completed by Mpu Panuluh, a Buddhist author.[121] The author discusses in the beginning the parleys of Kṛṣṇa before the commencement of the war and narrates incidents and episodes leading to the death of Bhīṣma, Bhagadatta, Abhimanyu, Jayadratha, Bhuriśravā, Karṇa, Ghaṭotkaca, Śalya and others. Of the last *parvas* of the *Mahābhārata,* only the *āśrama, mauṣala, prasthānika* and the *svargārohana parva* have been found, and the first three of these have been edited by Juynboll.[122] These works might have been composed in the fourteenth century A.D.[123] The Old-Javanese *Harivaṃśa,* written by the Buddhist author Panuluh, has been spun around the love-episode of Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇi, in which Kṛṣṇa had to fight against the Pāṇḍavas and others. Among works based on the *Mahābhārata,* we may refer to the *Harivijaya,*[124] which narrates some stories of the *Ādiparva,* such as the Churning of the Milk Sea, the fight between gods and demons, the death of Vali, the story of Rahu, etc. The duel between Sunda and Upasunda for Lottama (Tilottamā) has been the theme of the Old-Javanese poem *Ratnavijaya.*[125] The *Ghaṭotkacāśraya* or *Ghaṭotkacaśaraṇa* (Canto 51 and 50:1), another Old-Javanese *Kakavin* of uncertain date, refers to the fight between Abhimanyu and Lakṣmaṇakumāra to get the beautiful damsel Kṣitisundari, in which Ghaṭotkaca came to the succour of the former and turned the scale of the war. The writer is said to be Panuluh who seems to have paid eulogy to King Jayakṛt.[126] The *Arjunavivāha* is a poem in thirtysix cantos.[127] Unable to fight against Nivātakavaca, the gods thought of securing the help of Arjuna who was undergoing penances. His strength of mind was tested by a bevy of celestial damsels, his knowledge by Indra and his prowess by Nīlakaṇṭha in the guise of a *kirāta* or hunter. The demon was ultimately killed by Arjuna. This work was composed by Kanva during the reign of King Airlangga (A.D. 1019-42). The poem *Pārthayajña,*[128] another Old-Javanese work, belongs to the *Mahābharata*-cycle of stories. It narrates how the Pāṇḍavas lost their kingdom in a game of chess, went into exile; how Arjuna, after various adventures, reached the Indrakila hill, where he practised penances and received the celestial weapons, together with the blessings of the *Kirāta* or hunter (Śiva). This work may be dated in the thirteenth century A.D. The poem *Indravijaya*[129] is based upon the *Udyogaparva* of the *Mahābhārata* (*ślokas* CCXXVIII-DLXV) and deals with the story of Nahuṣa. Other important works based on the *Mahābhārata* include the *Koravāśrama*,[130] the *Kṛṣṇāntaka*,[131] the *Navaruci* (also called *Bimasuci* or *Devaruci*),[132] *Sang Satyavan*,[133] etc. The *Koravāśrama* unfolds the story of the resurrection of the heroes of the Kuru-Pāṇḍava war, their spiritual adventures and other episodes. The first four cantos of the Kṛṣṇāntaka have been based upon the *Āśramavāsaparva*, the next twenty cantos are principally based upon the *Muṣalaparva*, while the rest of the work draws its inspiration from the *Prasthānikaparva*. The work *Navaruci* mainly deals with the story of Bhīma's adventures in search of holy water. The story *Sang Satyavan* deals with the story of Sāvitrī and Satyavān, but the framework of the story is quite different.

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[119] For an English summary vide H. B. Sarkar, *op.cit.,* pp. 244-48.

[120] The text has been translated by Gonda in *TBG* 75 (1936) pp. 52 ff. The text is to be found in Gonda's edition of the *Bhīṣmaparwa* (*Bibliotheca Javanica,* No. 7, pp. 38-65).

[121] Ed. Gunning, *Bharatayuddha, Oudjavaansch Heldendicht,* 1903. Translated by Poerbatjaraka and C. Hooykaas in *Djawa* 14 (1934) pp. 1-87. See also C. Stuart, *Brata-Joeda,* in *VBG* 27 and 28 (1860).

[122] Juynboll, *Drie beeken van het Oud-Javaansch Mahābhārata in Kavitekst en Nederlandsch vertaling,* etc., 1893; For description see H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.,* pp. 254-261.

[123] See *BKI,* 72, pp. 401 ff.

[124] Juynboll, *Supplement* I, pp. 152-54; *NBG,* 31, pp. 114-16; Sarkar, *op. cit.,* pp. 263-64.

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[125] Juynboll, *Supplement* I, pp. 160-61; Van der Tuuk, *KBNW,* pp. 737-38. The name of the book has been stated in canto, XXII.

[126] Juynboll, *op.cit.,* pp. 149-50; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.,* pp. 265-67. An inscription of King Kṛtajaya is dated 1190 A.D.

[127] Text and translation by Poerbatjaraka in *BKI,* 82 (1926), pp. 181-305. It has also been versified in modern language. Vide Friederich, *Wiwaha Djarva en Brata Joeda Kawi* (fragment), 1878. See also Gericke's *Wiwoho of Mintorogo* in VBG, 20 (1844).

[128] Juynboll, *Catalogue* I, p. 140; Poerbatjaraka in *TBG,* 58 (1918), pp. 380-90; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.,* pp. 274 ff.

[129] Juynboll, *Supplement* I, p. 137; *Ibid., Drie Boeken,* pp. 19-20; *Actes de 6 Congres de Orientale section Ariyenne,* pp. 81-121; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.,* pp. 279 ff.

Among other Old-Javanese works, the source of which cannot be easily determined or which occurs in different Sanskrit texts, we may refer to the *Smaradahana* which describes, in forty cantos, the episode of the burning of Kāma or Love-god.[134] It was composed by Mpu Dharmaja during the reign of King Kāmesvara I (c. A.D. 1115-30) or II (c. A.D. 1185). It has been stated in the *Pamañcangah Kidung* that the material of this poem has been derived from the *Candapurāṇa*, which was supposed to be the corrupted form of *Skandapurāṇa*. A rapid comparison of the Old-Javanese text with the Sanskrit one, as given in the *Viṣṇukhaṇḍa* and the *Māheśvarakhaṇḍa* of the *Skandapurāṇa* convinced me that there was no basis for the report of the Kidung.[135] The poem *Lubdhaka* extols *linga* worship by narrating the story of a hunter who was seated on a *vilva* tree on a pitch-dark night and was trembling out of fear. The story tells us how the accidental dropping of a *vilva* leaf on the Śiva *liṅga* which was situated below brought about his ultimate salvation.[136] The author of this work was Tanakung, but it is difficult to say if he is identical with the author of *Vṛttasañcaya*. The story of *Sutasoma*, also called *Puruṣādaśanta*,[137] describes how the demon Puruṣāda had conquered all Kings of India and how he was defeated by Sutasoma who was an incarnation of Bodhisattva. The beginnings of the story can be traced to Vedic literature and it gradually found place in Brāhmaṇical, Buddhist and Jaina literature. The author of this work was Mpu Tantular who might be the same as the writer of the *Arjunavijaya*, and seems to have flourished in the fourteenth century A.D. The popular poem *Kṛṣṇāyaṇa*[138] has been spun around the romance of Kṛṣṇa and Rugmiṇī. It was composed by Triguṇa, as stated in canto sixty-three, during the reign of King Varṣajaya in the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. The poem *Kālayavānantaka*,[139] also called *Kṛṣṇavijaya* deals, among others, with the story of the fight between Kṛṣṇa and Kaṃśa, and narrates how Kālayavana was burnt by the fire of the eyes of the sage Mucakuṇḍa. Other Old-Javanese works of the epic-*paurāṇic* cycle include the *Rāmavijaya*,[140] the *Bhomakāvya*,[141] and some other works less well-known. *Rāmavijaya* is a poem in sixty-three cantos, describing a fight between Jamadagni and Aṅgaraparna (called Aṅgapan) over the girl Indra Renuk; in this fight Arjuṇasahasravāhu, Indra and others were involved. Mpu Bradah was the author of a popular Old-Javanese poem called the *Bhomakāvya*, in which Viṣṇu, in his incarnation of Kṛṣṇa, killed the demon Bhoma, who was his son, by lifting him from earth which constantly sustained him. This work might have been composed in the fourteenth century.

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[130] Ed. Swellengrebel, 1936. For summary vide H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 282 ff.

[131] Vide *BKI*, 6th series VI, 1899, pp. 214-27; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

[132] Juynboll, *Catalogue* II. The text has been edited by Prijohoe omo with translation in 1934. He refers it to the period between 1500 and 1619 A.D. It has several New and Middle-Javanese recensions.

[133] Juynboll, *Catalogue* I, p. 270.

[134] Ed. Poerbatjaraka, *Bibliothica Javanica* no. 3; Vide also Rassers, *De Pandji Roman*, pp. 136 ff.

[135] H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 312 ff.

The epic literature of the Malayo-Indonesian world is closely connected with the *wayang* or shadow-plays which are extremely popular, especially in Java. It seems to correspond to the Sanskrit *Chāyānāṭaka*, under which category we may enlist at least seven works, of which the oldest extant one seems to be the *Dutāṅgada* of Subhaṭa dating from the thirteenth century A.D. The Sanskrit *Chāyānāṭaka* seems to be earlier than the shadow-plays of Indonesia, because, Nīlakaṇṭha, while commenting on the word *rūpopajīvanaṃ* occurring in *Mahābhārata* (12. CCXCV: 5), has stated: "*rūpopajīvanaṃ Jalamaṇḍapiketi dākṣiṇatyeṣu prasiddhaṃ, yatra sūkṣmavastram vyavadhāya carmamayairākārai rājāmātyādināṃ caryā pradarśyate*".[142] This seems to prove that the shadow plays of South India had some of the essential characteristics of the *wayang* plays of Java, such as screens or canvas and leather puppets, and the reference in the *Mahābhārata* occurs at a time when the Pallavas of South India were just sailing out for their colonising activities in the Far East. The Javanese *wayang* may therefore have evolved out of the Indian shadow-plays. Of the seven categories of the Javanese stage-plays, the *wayang-Purva* seems to be the oldest. Though some scholars think that it might have existed as early as the ninth century A.D., no clear reference to it can be deduced from literature before the 11th century when the *Arjunavivāha* refers to it. The subject-matter of *wayang* and *lakon* stories mainly centre round episodes from the *Mahābhārata*, specially the *Ādi*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*-stories, the Arjuna-sahasravāhu-cycle, the Pāṇḍava cycle of stories and others not exactly connected with India.[143]

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[136] Juynboll, *Supplement* I, pp. 135-37; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 316 ff.

[137] Juynboll, *op. cit.*, pp. 140 ff.; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 318-322,

[138] Juynboll, *Supplement* I, p. 156; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 322-23. See also Poerbatjaraka in *TBG*, 57 (1915), pp. 227-40.

[139] Juynboll, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-55; H. B. Sarkar, *op.cit.*, pp. 324-25.

[140] Juynboll, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-60; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-6.

[141] Teeuw, *Het Bhomakāvya* (with Dutch translation), 1946.

There are also works of miscellaneous type in Indonesia, often of romantic and folk-lore type which might have been inspired by Indian works of the same genre, with influences projected from other sources as well. Many of the names are undoubtedly Indian, and some of the stories may also be traced to India. Such stories include not only folk-tales, but also beast-fables, of which the most important one is the *Tantrī Kāmandaka*,[144] which has special relationship with the *Pañcatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa*. The

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[142] Discussion in H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 293; more elaborately by Rassers in *Panji, the Culture Hero,* pp. 104 ff. For earlier discussion on Javanese *wayang Purva* vide, among others, Serrurier, *De Wajang Poerwa* (1896); Hazeu, *Bijdrage tot de kennins van het Javaansche tooneel* (1897) and others cited in Rasser's work cited above.

[143] H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 295-96.

[144] Edited with text and translation by C. Hooykaas, Bibliotheca Javanica, no. 2.

Pañcatantra has Siamese and Laotian recensions, and at least twelve different recensions in Indonesia. C. Hooykaas and Venkatasubbiah have traced most of the Sanskrit verses to Indian originals. Some of the Old-Javanese MSS refer to one Vasubhāga, a name that reminds one of Durgasiṃha Vasubhāga of the Kannada versions. The *Tantrī Kāmandaka* has six so-called *sargas,* which relate several stories of the Indian recension. There are also other independent beast-fables, some of which are also current in Bengal.[145]

There are also some genealogical and legendary works with a mythical background. The *Aji Śaka* is a well-known story of this category, and it has been narrated by Raffles.[146] Fictions have run riot into this type of work, and although the general drift of the story has some lesson for us, hardly any useful fact can be gleaned from such works. Of the historical works, the most important one is the *Nāgarakṛtāgama,*[147] composed by poet Prapañca in A.D. 1365. The poem contains ninety-eight cantos in various Sanskrit metres. Although primarily concerned with the reign of King Hayam Vuruk, it also gives us some earlier data. In 93 : 1, we read that Buddhāditya of Kāñcī composed a Sanskrit panegyric (a *Bhogāvali* in *ślokas*) and Mutali (Mudaliar?) Sahṛdaya, a Brahmin, praised the King in *ślokas.* These facts indicate that even in A.D. 1365, Indian Brahmins came to Java and that the place of Sanskrit at the royal court was still very high. The other important historical work is the *Pararaton*[148] which was probably composed between A.D. 1278 and 1478.[149] It is written in Middle-Javanese prose and narrates the story of the Kings of Majapahit and their ancestors in eighteen chapters. Local gossips have sometimes left their imprint on this work. Modern historical traditions are preserved in the *pamañcangahs* which also constitute an important branch of the *babad* or historical literature of Indonesia. They are, however, mainly concerned with dynastic histories designed to consolidate royal power and glorify it. Works of this genre do not come within the purview of the present work.

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[145] Vide H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.,* pp. 381-82.

[146] *History of Java* II (1830), pp. 73 ff.

[147] Latest edition by Pigeaud, *Java in the fourteenth century* (Five Volumes).

[148] Edited by Brandes-Krom in *VBG,* 62 (1920). First published in *VBG,* 49 (1896).

[149] *Ibid.,* Introduction, p. 5.

While both Java and Bali have a Pre-Islamic literature, the same cannot be said in regard to Sumatra and Malaya, two other considerable places of the Malayo-Indonesian world which had been subjected to strong Indian influences. As a segment of the powerful Śrīvijaya empire, South-Eastern Sumatra with its headquarters at Palembang had served as an important centre of Buddhist scholarship. Not only had I-tsing studied *śabdavidyā* (grammar) here in A.D. 671, but also other Chinese pilgrims devoted their time and energy to the study and translation of the Buddhist sacred lore into the Chinese language.[150] The international reputation of Suvarnadvīpa as a centre of Buddhist learning seems to have continued undiminished upto the beginning of the eleventh century A.D., because it was during this time that Atīśa Dīpaṅkara came here. He stayed here for twelve years and received instructions on Buddhism under the guidance of Dharmmakīrti, one of the greatest luminaries of the Buddhist world.[151] At about the same time, to be precise in A.D. 1017, Sanskrit works were sent to China.[152] As the inscriptions of King Ādityavarman testify, Sanskrit was studied at the royal court at least up to the fourteenth century A.D. It is unthinkable that such long cultivation of Sanskrit language and literature would be a barren one, without producing important literary work. Unfortunately, no literature from the Indo-Sumatran period has reached our hands, and whatever we have now refers to recent times. Achehnese, Batak and Minangkabau have no doubt an extensive literature, but these are mostly unexplored, excepting a brief study of Achehnese by Hurgronje.[153]

The fate of Pre-Islamic Malay literature is also similar to that of Sumatra and Java, with this difference that whereas the Old-Javanese literature was substanially saved on account of its physical removal to the island of Bali, the same could not be done in regard to Sumatran and Malayan literature of the Hindu epoch which, I believe, was completely destroyed. The oldest specimen of the old or Proto-Malay language is to be found in the inscription of A.D. 683 from Kĕdukan Bukit in the island of Sumatra; the Talang Tuve inscription dated in the following year was also found in the same island. The earliest Malay work is not however available until more than nine hundred years have elapsed. The earliest works so far available from Malaya seem to indicate that the early literature of the Peninsula might have consisted of dynastic traditions, many of which were oral folk-tales, pontoons, beast-fables, proverbs, poems, riddles, etc. It is difficult to assign any date for them or indicate the source and point out the method of their propagation in the Malay world. Their traditional history is of mythical nature, dealing with the origin of dynasties, which are, however, full of lacunae. Modern critics would naturally find many interesting points therein from the viewpoint of folklore. As is well-known, from historiographic point of view, the best impression is created by the *Sajarah Mĕlayu* or *Salāhaṭ as Salāṭin* from the beginning of the 17th century A.D. It has been observed that many didactic writings, in spite of their Arabic-Persian facade, contain stories of an Indian complexion. The links, which connect many of these stories with India, specially Bengal, relate to magic horses, magic castles, fatal or life-giving magic flower, setting princesses free from the might or spell of inimical princes or demons who are subjugated by princes assisted by supernatural power. Jonker has observed that it is difficult to reduce the structure of such stories to one arche-type, fix up the grade of their borrowing and determine the mutual relationship of particular stories. In some of the Hikayats, Indian influences are clearly discernible, as for example, in the story called *Hikayat Indranata, Hikayat Sjah Mardan,* the *Hikayat Berma Sjahdan.* The *Ceriteras* and *Hikayats* also mutually influenced each other. The *Nikayat Kumala Bahrain* which betrays the influence of the *Rāmāyaṇa,* is a noteworthy venture. Many of these stories, influenced by folk-elements of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa,* were presented in a Malay setting. The Indian epics are represented in Malaya by the *Hikayat Seri Rama* and the various recensions of the *Hikayat Pandava.* The *Hikayat Seri Rama* is based upon the Rāma-cycle of stories, but it makes wide departure from the Indian original in many important respects. The *Mahābhārata* has also supplied the matrix for such stories as the *Pandava lima*, *Pandava jaya*, *Angkavijaya*, etc. The *wayang* stories and *lakens*, based on the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, with Arjuna, Hanūman and others as heroes, have popularised certain ideals of Indian people among the Malays, but everywhere the emphasis has been on the folk and supernatural element. The *Pañji*-cycle of stories, whether borrowed directly from Javanese or Malay translations, bear little Indian influence on the structure of the stories, but the adventures of the hero sometimes cover the Indian lands. In some cases, stories can be traced to the Old-Javanese original, as in the case of the Malay recension of *Hikayat Maharaja Boma* which reverts to the Old-Javanese *Bhomakāvya*. There are also adaptations from Indian sources, like the *Pañcatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa*, perhaps in their Tamil recensions.[154]

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[150] I-tsing, *Memoire*, pp. 64, 159, 182, 187, 189.

[151] Sarat candra Das, *Indian Pandits in the land of snow*, p. 50.

[152] Croeneveldt, *Notes*, p. 65; Ferrand, *JA*, 1922, pp. 19-20.

[153] *The Achenese*, translated by O'Sullivan, Vols. I & II, 1906.

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[154] For Malay literature, vide *Encyclo. Ned. Indie*, pp. 591 ff., s.v. *Literatuur (Maleische)*.

ABBREVIATIONS

BEFEO: — Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient.

BKI: — Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie.

Hoofdlijnen: — Berg, Hoofdlijnen der Javaansche Litteratuur Geschiednis, 1929.

Indian Influences: — Sarkar, Indian Influences on the literature of Java and Bali, 1934.

JASBAL: — Journal of the Asiastic Society of Bengal, Letters.

JGIS: — Journal of the Greater India Society.

JIH: — Journal of Indian History.

JMBRAS: — Journal of the Malay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

KBNW: — Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek by Van der Tuuk.

Memoire: — I-tsing, Memoire compose a l'epoque de la grande dynaste T'ang sur les Religieux Eminents qui allerent chercher la loi dans les pays d'occident. Translated by E. Chavannes, 1894.

Nag.: — Nagarakrtagama, ed. Pigeaud.

NBG: — Notulen van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

Notes: — Groeneveldt, Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca complied from Chinese sources, 1877.

OJO: — Brandes-Krom, Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden, 1913.

OLZ: — Oost-Asiatische Litteratuur Zeitung.

Supplement : — Juynboll, Supplement op den Catalogus van de Javaansch en Madoereesche Handschriften der Leidsche University, Bibliotheek, Vol. I, 1907, Vol. II, 1911.

Tantu: — Pigeaud, De Tantu Panggelaran, 1924.

TBG: — Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkonkunde van het Bataviaasch Genootschap. van kunsten en Wetenschappen.

Theologie: — Goris, Bijdrage tot de kennis der Oud-Javaansche en Balineesche Theologie, 1926.

VBG: — Verhandelingen van het. Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

VG: — Kern, Verspreide Geschriften.

Fresh Light on the History of the Visnukundins

BY

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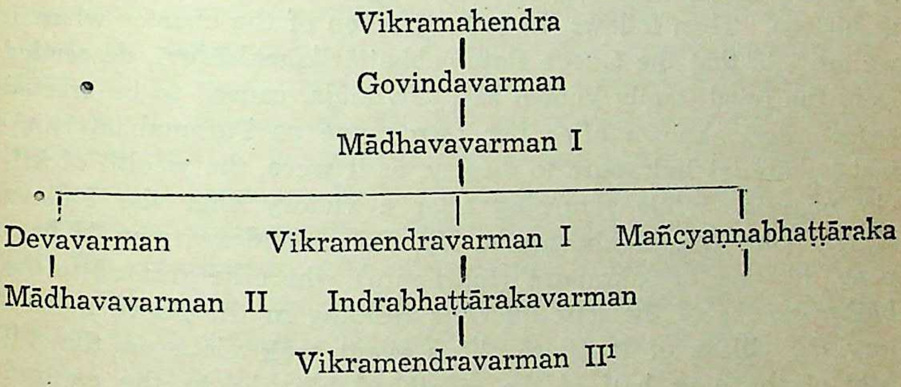
The Viṣṇukuṇḍins, who ruled over the Veṅgi region for more than a century, occupy an important place in the history of Andhra Pradesh. But the question of their genealogy and chronology, though studied by a number of historians, is far from being finally settled, and consequently widely divergent views are held by scholars. But the following genealogy, reconstructed on the basis of the copper-plate charters hitherto discovered is generally accepted by scholars:—


Vikramahendra
Govindavarman
Mādhavavarman I
Devavarman
Vikramendravarman I
Mañcyaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka
Mādhavavarman II
Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman
Vikramendravarman II[1]

The recently discovered Indrapalanagara copper-plate inscriptions of Vikramendrabhaṭṭārakavarman II and Govindavarman shed a flood of light on several aspects of the history of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, their chronology and genealogy not excepted. These grants were first brought to the notice of the scholarly world by Sri B. N.

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1. This genealogy proposed by Dr. D. C. Sircar (*IHQ*, IX, p. 278; *Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Deccan*, p. 104) is followed by Dr. V. V. Mirashi (*EI*, XXII, p. 19) and Dr. M. Rama Rao (*Vishṇukuṇḍin Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh Govt. Archaeological Series, No. 10, p. 8). For a different scheme of genealogy vide *Classical Age*, p. 223, Andhra Pradesh Govt. Arch. Series, No. 8, p. 11.

Sastry who published their Telugu transcript in the June and July 1965 issues of the Telugu magazine, *Bhāratī* (Madras).[2] Later, Dr. M. Rama Rao gave a Romanised text of these records and discussed their historical bearing at length in his paper entitled "New Light on the Viṣṇukuṇḍins" published in an earlier issue of this *Journal.*[3] Sri B. N. Sastry and Dr. Rama Rao have earned the gratitude of all those interested in the history of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty. The present author, however, finds it difficult to agree with some of the suggestions offered by Dr. Rama Rao and it is, therefore, proposed to discuss afresh some points of the evidence afforded by the two inscriptions with a view to throw fresh light on the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.

The Indrapālanagara charter of Vikramendrabhaṭṭārakavarman II gives us the order of succession of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins from Govindavarman to Vikramendravarman II through Mādhavavarman I, Vikramendravarman I and Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman. Vikramendravarman II is said to have adopted a certain Mādhavarāja as his son. Then follows the grant portion of the charter wherein we are told that the Queen Paramabhaṭṭārikāmahādevī, descended from the royal family known as Pṛthvīmūla, caused to be erected a monastery, known after her own name as Paramabhaṭṭārikāmahāvihāra, at Indrapura to display, as it were, the wealth of Śrī-Govindarāja. While returning after a victory over the Pallava King Siṁha (i.e., Siṁhavarman II), Vikramendravarman II happened to come to Śakrapura (Indrapura) where he granted to the *bhikṣu-saṅgha* of the four quarters residing in the above monastery the village of Iruṇḍero. This event took place on the 8th *tithī* of the dark half of the month of *kārttika* in the expired Śāka year 488.

The other Indrapālanagara copper-plate charter informs us that the Viṣṇukuṇḍin ruler Govindavarman, son of Mādhavavarman and grandson of Indravarman, gave away the village of Peṇkapara to the *ārya-saṅgha* of the four quarters at the monastery of his Chief Queen (*agra-mahiṣī*), Paramamahādevī, for the uninterrupted provision of lamps, incense, perfumes, flowers, flags, drinks and food, beds, seats, grass, medicine and repair-work in his thirty-seventh regnal year.

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[2] June 1965, (Govindavarman's grant); July 1965, pp. 2-14 (Vikramendrabhaṭṭārakavarman's grant).

[3] *JIH,* Vol. XLIII, Part III (December 1965), pp. 733-48.

Dr. Rama Rao's view that Govindarāja and Govindavarman mentioned in these inscriptions in connection with the construction of and the provisions for the Buddhist establishment at Indrapura are two distinct personages and that the two copper-plate grants under discussion contain gifts to two *Vihāras* at Śakrapura[4] does not appear to be probable, for there are good reasons to believe that the names Govindarāja and Govindavarman are applied here for one and the same person and that both the charters record grants to one and the same monastery. That Govindarāja was a Buddhist goes without saying. He is said to have adorned the whole of Dakṣiṇāpatha by erecting *stūpas* and *vihāras* inspiring wonder, evidently by their grandeur (*adbhuta-stūpa-vihāra-cūḍāmaṇibhir = alaṅkṛta-sakala-dakṣiṇāpathasya,* lines 25-26).[5] The finances for the construction of the monastery raised at the instance of Paramabhaṭṭārikāmahādevī were evidently provided from his exchequer (*śrī-Govindarājasya mūrttimatīm śriyaṁ praty=aviṣayikṛta*[6]*-manorathāya,* text lines 28-29). That Govindavarman, the issuer of the second charter, was also a staunch Buddhist need not be doubted.[7] Like Govindarāja, he had also built and repaired *vihāras* and extended his patronage to the *bhikṣus* (Buddhist monks). It is said that his wealth was *mahābodhi* which had come into existence for the protection of all the living beings (*sakala-sattva-dhātu-trāṇāy–otpādita–mahābodhi–viṭṭena,* text line 12).[8] His record opens with an invocation to the Buddha who had shown to the world the path leading to final beatitude (*nirvāṇa*). Lines 14 to 18 contain a beautiful eulogy of the Buddha. A certain Paramabhaṭṭārikāmahādevī built a monastery which exhibited, as it were, the great prosperity of Govindarāja; Paramamahādevī, the Chief Queen of Govindavarman, had also got a monastery erected at the same place to which a village was granted by her husband. It appears as though the second record confirms and clarifies the statement contained in the first one. It would also be agreed that there is no real difference between the names Paramabhaṭṭārikāmahādevī and Paramamahādevī. A perusal of Vikramendravarman II's grant cannot fail to leave the impression that Paramabhāṭṭārikāmahādevī, though not expressly stated, was the Chief Queen of Govindarāja; as if only to clear our doubt the second grant specifically describes her (here called Paramamahādevī) as the Chief Queen of Govindavārman. It would thus appear that Parama (bhaṭṭārikā) mahādevī, the Chief Queen of Govindarāja-Govindavarma, but a Buddhist *vihāra* at Śakrapura and to provide for the requirements of its inmates her husband granted a village. Later, Vikramendravarman II, the last known Viṣṇukuṇḍin King, granted the village of Irundero to the same monastery. I think this assumption alone can satisfactorily account for the otherwise confusing problems raised by the discovery of the two copper-plate charters in question. Or else we shall be landing ourselves in the absurdity of assuming that two Queens bearing almost identical names, viz. Paramabhaṭṭārikāmahādevī and Paramamahādevī, had husbands of the same name, viz. Govindarāja and Govindavarman, both of whom were Buddhists by religion and in some way or other connected with the Viṣṇukuṇdins,[9] and built a monastery each at the same place. The fact that both the records have been found at the same place also tends to show that they conveyed grants to one and the same monastery.

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[4] *JIH*, XLIII, p. 745.

[5] Unless otherwise stated, the references are to the Romanised text given in Dr. Rama Rao's paper. Even before the publication of Dr. Rama Rao's paper, one of my students had furnished me with a Romanised version of the text as published in *Bhāratī.*

[6] Dr. Rama Rao suggests that the correct reading should be *prati-viṣayīkṛta, ibid.,* p. 736, fn. 2.

[7] He appears to have been a man of liberal religious ideas as he built temples, extended his patronage to the Brāhmaṇas and undertook activities of public utility

[8] The Romanised version of B. N. Sastry's text furnished by my student gives the reading *-mahābodh-ānvitena.*

Next as regards the chronological position of Govindrāja-Govindavarman. The last known date of Vikramendravarman II is Śaka 488 (= 566 A.D.) when his grant under consideration was issued. As pointed out by Dr. Rama Rao, the Viṣṇukuṇḍins could not have ruled after 615 A.D., for Pulakeśin II was already in possession of the coastal districts of Viśākhapaṭṭṇam, East Godāvary, West Godāvary, Kṛṣṇa and Guntur by 617 A.D.[10] Dr. Rama Rao places Govindavarman of the second Indrapālanagara charter in the interval between the last known date of Vikramendravarman and the occupation of Viṣṇukuṇḍin territory by the Cāḷukyas.[11] But this does not appear to be correct. As we have seen above, this Govindavarman is identical with Govindarāja of the other record. His Chief Queen Parama (Bhaṭṭārikā) mahādevī had built the *Paramabhaṭṭārikā-mahāvihāra* at Indrapura and he had himself donated a village to meet its various needs. Now, according to the scheme of chronology followed by Dr. Rama Rao, he flourished from 575 to 615 A.D.[12] How could then Vikramendravarman II whose reign had come to an end in 566 A.D. grant a village to a monastery which was to be built by Govindarāja-Govindavarman's Queen? This anachronism goes against Dr. Rama Rao's view. The only way to steer clear of this difficulty is to place Govindarāja-Govindavarman before Vikramendra II.

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[9] Govindarāja is said to be one of the Kings of Śrīparvata which reminds one of the fact that the Viṣṇukuṇḍin rulers are usually described as devoted to Śrīparvatasvāmin. Govindavarman, on the other hand, is clearly described as a Viṣṇukuṇḍin ruler.

However, the moment we try to ascertain Govindarāja-Govindavarman's relationship with the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty we land ourselves in the midst of uncertainties. There is nothing to support Dr. Rama Rao's suggestion that Govindavarman and his predecessors[13] belonged to a collateral or *dāyāda* branch which usurped the throne immediately after the end of the reign of Vikramendravarman II.[14] On the contrary, a glance at the manner in which he is described in the records seems to indicate that he was a member of the main family. In the first Indrapālanagara charter Govindarāja is said to have decorated the whole of Dakṣiṇāpatha with wonder-inspring *stūpas* and *vihāras*. He is described as the peerless *Kaustubha* gem in the centre of the necklace that is the succession of the earlier and later Kings of Śrīparvata.[15] The Viṣṇukuṇḍins, it may be mentioned, are represented in their own records as devoted to Śrīparvatasvāmin. In respect of qualities, beauty and prosperity he is said to be equal to Viṣṇu (*guṇa-rūpa-sampadbhir=anugata-Govindasya,* text lines 27-28). Even allowing some hyperbole, such a description, particularly when it is found in a record of a member of the main branch as Vikramendra II undoubtedly was, cannot be applied to a collateral or a feudatory chief. In the second grant also there is nothing to indicate that he belonged to any collateral branch. Except for the invocation to Śrīparvatasvāmin, which is conspicuous by its absence here, this inscription is like any other Viṣṇukuṇḍin record. So far we know of two collateral families, one represented by Devavarman and Mādhavavarman II and the other by Mañcyaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka; but their relationship with the main branch of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family is definitely known. Had Govindavarman and his predecessors been collaterals, we should naturally expect a clear statement about their relationship with the main branch, which, however, is not the case. Moreover, like all the other members of the main branch, all the three rulers known from the second Indrapālanagara charter are styled *mahārāja.* There can thus be no doubt that Govindavarman-Govindarāja belonged to the main line of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family. But to assign him a definite position in the main branch is not an easy task. However, the description of Govindavarman, the father of Mādhavavarman I, found in the first charter, very closely agrees with that of Govindavarman-Govindarāja. Like the latter, the former was a Buddhist and had much religious merit accumulated by building many *mahāvihāras* which in point of beauty rivalled celestial mansions.[16] It is not impossible, therefore, that Govindarāja-Govindavarman in question was none other than Govindavarman of the main family, well known from other Viṣṇukuṇḍin records already discovered. There is only one difficulty in accepting this view. While according to the Ipur II plates[17] and Polamburu grant[18] the name of Govindavarman's father was Vikramahendra, the name of Govindarāja-

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[10] *JIH*, XLIII, pp. 742-43.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 743. Dr. Rama Rao places the two predecessors of Govindavarman between 566 and 575 A.D.

[13] The inscription mentions Govindavarman's father, Mādhavavarman, and grandfather, Indravarman.

[14] *JIH*, XLIII, p. 742. The anachronism pointed out above completely upsets this suggestion.

[15] *Śrīpārvateya-pūrv-āpara-kṣitipati-paramparā-hāra-madhya-nirupama-virājita-kaustubhāyamāna-yaśojanmanaḥ*, text lines 26-7.

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[16] *Ṣaḍ=abhijña-pratīhāra-darśan-ānugraha-janita-Sugata-śāsan-ābhiprasādasya vibudha-bhavana-pratispardhi-śobhā-samuday-āneka-mahāvihārā-pratiṣṭhāpan-ādhigat-ānanta-brāhmaṇa-puṇya-sambhārasya mahārāja-śrī-Govindavarmmaṇaḥ,* text lines 3-6.

[17] *EI,* XVII, pp. 337-39.

[18] JAHRS, VI, pp. 17 ff., D. C. Sarkar, *op. cit.,* pp. 334 ff.

Govindavarman's father was Vikramahendra, the name of Govindarāja-Govindavarman's father, according to his own Indrapālanagara charter, was Mādhavavarman, and that of the latter's father, Indravarman. But this difficulty is by no means insurmountable. It seems that Vikramahendra of inscriptions is a mistake for Vikramamahendra, as already suggested by Dr. D. C. Sircar.[19] It appears that like the Pallavas, Cāḷukyas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas and other South Indian rulers the Viṣṇukuṇḍin rulers also were in the habit of assuming *birudas* or titles. It is known from the Polamburu grant that Govindavarman and his son Mādhavavarman I were styled Vikramāśraya and Janāśraya respectively.[20] Similarly, indrabhaṭṭārakavarman and Vikramendravarman II bore the *birudas* Satyāśraya and Uttamāśraya respectively as we learn from the first Indrapālanagara charter. In view of this practice it is not impossible that Vikrama (ma) hendra might have been a title of Mādhavavarman, the father of Govindavarman, according to his Indrapālanagara copper-plate inscription. If this suggestion is accepted, it will be in accordance with the common South Indian practice of the grandson being named after the grandfather, for, according to this view, Mādhavavarman Janāśraya, son of Govindavarman, was named after his grandfather, Mādhavavarman Vikrama (ma)-hendra. This reconstruction of history pushes back the Viṣṇukuṇḍin genealogy by one generation. So far Vikrama (ma) hendra was known to be the first Viṣṇukuṇḍin ruler. But if we accept, as appears quite probable, that Vikrama (ma) hendra was a *biruda* of Mādhavavarman, the father of Govindavarman who issued the second Indrapālanagara charter, we get the name of his father, i.e. Indravarman, who would now be regarded as the first known ruler of the family.[21] The Viṣṇukuṇḍin genealogy formulated on the basis of this reconstruction of history may be stated as follows:—

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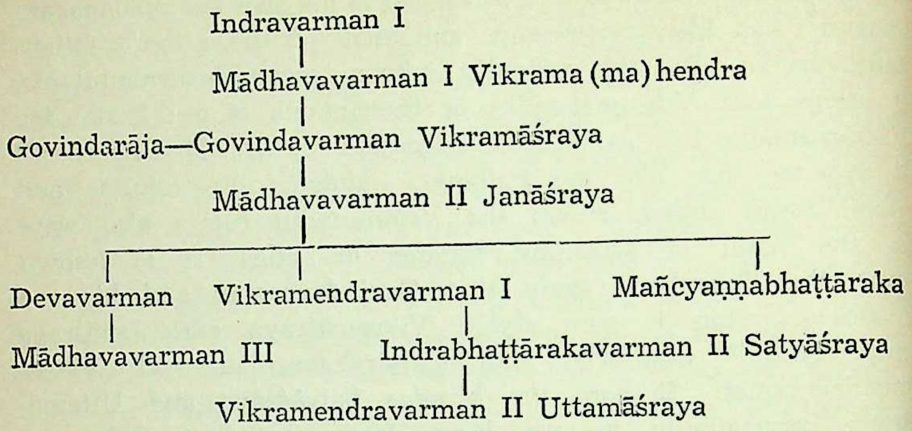
[19] Ibid., 103. Alternatively he suggests that it may be a slip for Vikramendra in which case he will have to be called Vikramendra I.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 101.

[21] It may be argued that if Indravarman, or according to our alternative suggestion, Indravarman, Mādhavavarman and Govindarāja-Govindavarman were predecessors of the later Viṣṇukuṇḍin rulers known from other inscriptions, they are not mentioned as such in other records of the family. But this argument carries no weight. It may be pointed out in this connection that Vikramahendra, the father of Govindavarman according to the Ipur II and Polamburu copper-plates, is also not mentioned in any other record of the dynasty.



Indravarman I

Mādhavavarman I Vikrama (ma) hendra

Govindarāja—Govindavarman Vikramāśraya

Mādhavavarman II Janāśraya

Devavarman

Mādhavavarman III

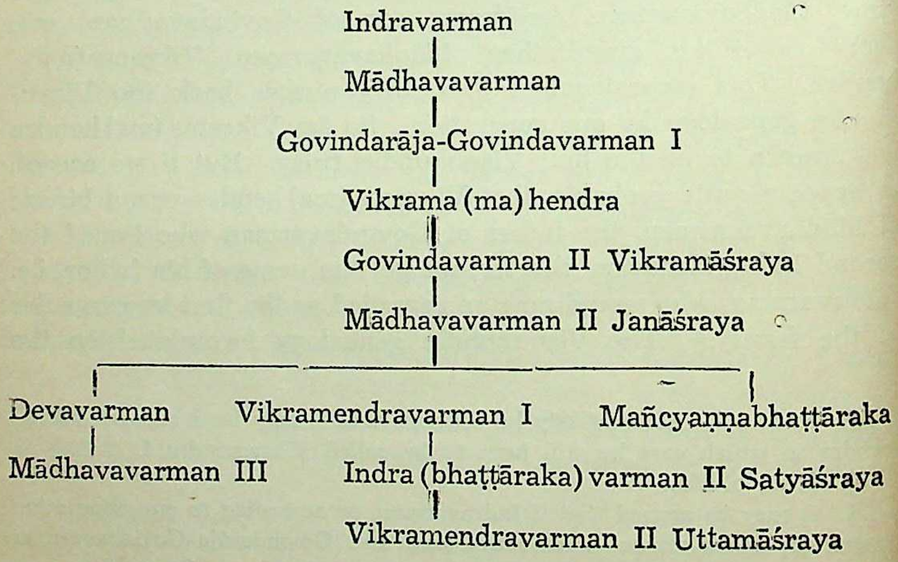
Vikramendravarman I

Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman II Satyāśraya

Vikramendravarman II Uttamāśraya

Mañcyaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka

Alternatively, it is possible that Govindavarman, the issuer of the second Indrapālanagara copper-plate grant, and his two predecessors flourished before Vikrama (ma) hendra. In that case this inscription pushes the genealogy of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty by three generations. The genealogy would then be as follows:—



Indravarman

Mādhavavarman

Govindarāja-Govindavarman I

Vikrama (ma) hendra

Govindavarman II Vikramāśraya

Mādhavavarman II Janāśraya

Devavarman

Mādhavavarman III

Vikramendravarman I

Indra (bhaṭṭāraka) varman II Satyāśraya

Vikramendravarman II Uttamāśraya

Mañcyaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka

The earliest Viṣṇukuṇḍin records so far discovered dated from the time of Mādhavavarman, the father of Vikramendravarman I. But if our view regarding the chronological position of Govindavarman-Govindarāja of the newly discovered charters is accepted, the second Indrapālanagara copper-plate grant naturally becomes the oldest record of the family found so far.

All the hitherto-discovered Viṣṇukuṇḍin inscriptions described the first member of the family mentioned therein as meditating upon the feet of the Lord Śrīparvatasvāmin. Thus Lord Śrīparvatasvāmin was undoubtedly the *kula-devatā* (family deity) of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. But the second Indrapālanagara grant which we have shown above to be the earliest record of the family does not mention Śrīparvatasvāmin and begins with a verse in the Anuṣṭubh metre containing an invocation to the Buddha. We may, therefore, conclude that Śrīparvatasvāmin was adopted as the *kula-devatā* first in the time of Mādhavavarman Janāśraya.

Thus, in the foregoing paragraph I have tried to show that

(i) Govindarāja and Govindavarman of the first and second Indrapālanagara grants respectively were one and the same person and Paramabhaṭṭārikāmahādevī or Paramamahādevī was his Chief Queen.

(ii) The grants contained in the two Indrapālanagara charters were made to one and the same *vihāra* at Śakrapura.

(iii) Govindarāja-Govindavarman of these records belonged to the main branch of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family and should in all probability be identified with Govindavarman Vikramāśraya, the father of Mādhavavarman Janāśraya. Vikrama(ma)hendra was probably the title of Govindavarman's father whose real personal name might have been Mādhavavarman, who may be conveniently called Mādhavavarman I. Alternatively, Govindavarman and his two predecessors may be placed before Vikrama(ma)hendra, the first member of the family known so far. Thus the new evidence pushes back the genealogy of the family by one or three generations, as the case may be.

(iv) Indrapālanagara charter of Govindavarman is the earliest record of the family.

(v) Śrīparvatasvāmin was first adopted as the family deity in the time of Mādhavavarman Janāśraya.

Cosmas Indicopleustes
As A Source Of Indian History

BY

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Cosmas was an Egyptian Christian merchant of the sixth century who crossed the Arabian or Indian sea, and hence earned the surname of 'Indicopleustes', i.e. 'sailor of the Indian seas'. He later became a monk and wrote a work entitled 'Topography', in which he tried to make out that it was un-Christian to hold that the earth was round. However, in the course of it he related his experiences during his journeys, and even dedicated an entire book or chapter, the eleventh, to India.

Cosmas's work has been variously judged. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, one of India's foremost historians today, quotes approvingly the views expressed in the last century by Robert Hall and Sir Henry Yule that the book is "a continent of mud", from which however "there are a few geographical fossils of considerable interest to be extracted."[1] On the other hand, H. Comes thinks that it is the best account we have of the East, from Ethiopia to China, for the sixth century.[2] It is the purpose of this brief paper to discuss in what way Cosmas can serve as a first hand source for the history of India, so that one may judge for oneself which of the above estimates does more justice to him.

In the first place, if Cosmas is to serve us as a first hand source, we must be sure that he personally touched at Indian ports, and does not merely retail information he got from others. Since the beginning of the last century some scholars have been denying, and others asserting, that Cosmas personally landed in India. But the recent study of H. Comes shows convincingly that those who think Cosmas had personal knowledge of India are in the right.[3]

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[1] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India, from prehistoric times to the fall of Vijayanagar* (Oxford 1955) 26.

[2] *Indica* (Heras Institute, Bombay) 2, 19 f.

The more important of Comes's arguments are that (1) Cosmas sailed past the island of Socotra, and this could only have been on his way to or from India; (2) he describes Ceylon, and expressly says that he speaks of it from personal knowledge; (3) he mentions the existence of Christianity in India as well as Socotra, but goes out of his way to say that he got his knowledge of the latter place at second hand, thus implying that he was personally acquainted with the situation in India. Incidentally, the first argument shows that the monsoon winds were already known to and availed of by the Egyptians in the early sixth century. And the third argument reminds us that Cosmas is the first undisputed source from whom we know of the early existence of Christians in India. They were to be found at Kalyan near Bombay, and in Malabar and Ceylon. A bishop used to be sent to them from Persia, who used to reside at Kalyan.

It is worth taking note of Cosmas's place among the foreign sources of Indian history. The Egyptians are among the earliest historical peoples who are known to have ventured on the high seas in sailing boats. Later, in the wake of Alexander's lightning campaigns, Egypt became hellenised, and to its long experience in navigation was now added the skill of the sailors of Greece. It thus came about that in the early centuries of the Christian era, the Greco-Egyptians were the masters of the Arabian Sea, and controlled India's trade with the West. Hence, at this time, it is Greco-Egyptians like the unknown author of the *Periplus*,[4] and the geographer Ptolemy,[5] who are our chief western sources for India. Cosmas is the last in this category, for in the seventh century Islam arose and the supremacy of the Indian seas passed to the Arabs.

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[3] *Indica* 3, 7-24

[4] The full title of the work is *The Periplus of Erythraen Sea* (transl. and ed. W. H. Schoff, Longmans 1912). The most likely date for it is the end of the first or the beginning of the second century A.D., since the work suggests that the Western Kṣatrapas were then in possession of North Konkan, having conquered it from the Śatavāhanas.

[5] Ptolemy composed work in the middle of the second century.

And with that, we come to the kind of information we get from Cosmas about India.

The most important political fact noted by Cosmas is that North India was at the time occupied by the 'White Huns', whose King he calls 'Gollâs'. He adds that 'Gollâs' was "master and ruler of India", who "levied tribute far and wide".[6] This is in accord with what the indigenous sources tell us of the invasion of the Huns in the fifth and sixth centuries. Cosmas's 'Gollâs' must be the Mihira*gula* or Mihira*kula* of the Indian sources.[7] And since Cosmas got his information from people he met on the West Coast, we are forced to conclude that this King was regarded with awe as far as that, and there was none to compare with him.

Our traveller further says that, from what he was told, 'Gollâs' could put in the field "not less than two thousand elephants, and a very large cavalry force."[8] This again is an interesting piece of information. For the Huns were accustomed to fight on horseback already in their Central Asian homes, but the art of using elephants in war they could only have learnt in India, and that probably not without the help of Indians. Which is the same as saying that some of the earlier peoples of India were very likely associated with the Huns in their wars.

Cosmas concludes his notice of 'Gollâs' with an episode intended to give his readers an idea of how large a force the King commanded. 'Gollâs' was once said to have laid siege to a city surrounded by water on all sides. He was reported to have waited patiently till his elephants and horses and men had consumed the water, and then captured the city by advancing across dry ground. In connection with these war elephants, Cosmas retails an interesting report he had heard, namely, that if their tusks grew too long they used to be sawn off, lest they encumber the animals in battle.

Cosmas further tells us that there were minor kingdoms on the West Coast: Sindoû or Sind, Orrhothà meaning perhaps Surat, Kalliána or Kalyan, Sibòr,[9] and Malé or Malabar. How inferior the Kings of these places were to 'Gollâs' appears from the fact that their elephant force numbered about five or six hundred only. The King of Kalyan at this time must have been a scion of the Western Mourya dynasty who ruled here in the sixth century, and whose inscription has been found at Thana.[10]

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[6] Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca, 88 (Paris 1860) 449/50. (=MG).

[7] R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient India* (rev. ed. Delhi 1960) 242-44.

[8] MG 88 449/50.

[9] 'Sibr' bears some resemblance to the 'Sindabur' of the later Muslim traveller Ibn Batuta, which some identify with Goa.

Next, Cosmas provides us with interesting details about India's import and export trade. Sindoû, Orrhothà, Kalliána, and Sibòr were important ports.[11] Malé was rich in having five such ports: namely, Párti meaning perhaps Bhatkal, Mangarrùth or Mangalore, and Salopátana, Nalopátana, and Pudapátana.[12] To these ports came silk from China, aloes and sandalwood from the Malayan Archipelago, and ivory from Africa. From Africa also came emeralds, which were particularly in demand among the Huns, who were fond of wearing them on the head.[13]

Sindoû in its turn exported musk, for which Cosmas gives the Sanskrit name in its correct Greek transliteration of *Kastoûri*.[14] Kalliána sent out bronze, sesame, and a variety of cloths. Malé was known for its pepper, and Marallò or the *Coromandel* for its shells. India's western buyers were the countries of the Hellenic world and Persia. The former paid for their purchases with the best specimens of their gold *nomisma,* and the latter with its silver drachmas.[15] Ceylon, with its central situation in the South-Asian seas, served as an important mart through which India received its exports from the Far East.[16]

And finally, Cosmas gives us some information about social life. We have just seen what he has to say of the fondness of the Huns for adorning their heads. He also tells us that coconut water, the Indian name for which he gives as *rhonchosoûra,* served Indians in place of wine, and that it tasted "exceeding sweet."[17]

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[10] *The Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency,* Vol. XIII, Part II, *Thana* (Bombay 1882) 420.

[11] MG 88 447/48.

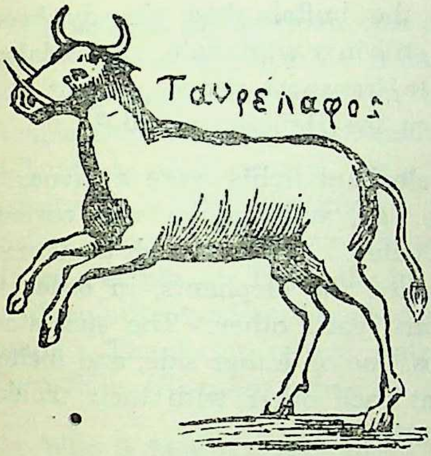
[12] Salo-, Nalo-, and Pudu-Pátana may have lain in the regions of the present Calicut, Cochin, and Quilon respectively.

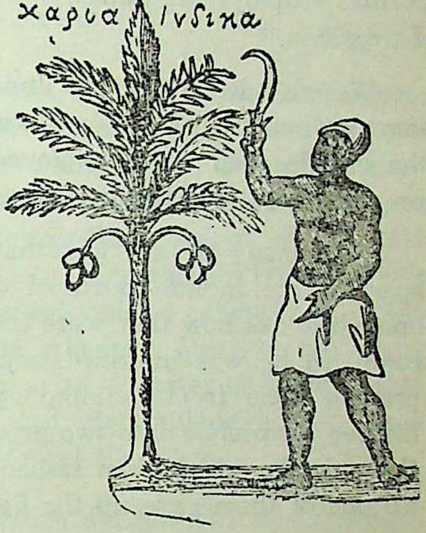
[13] MG 88 445/50.

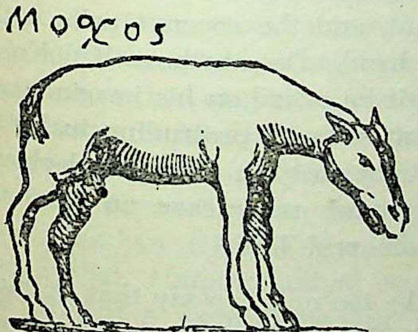
[14] *ibid.,* 443/46.

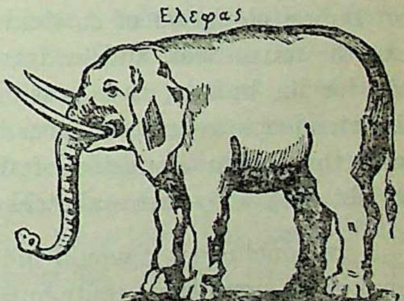
[15] *ibid.,*447/48.

[16] *ibid.,* 445/48.


Ταυρέλαφος


χάρια ινδικα


Μοσχος


Ελεφας

Our traveller is here evidently referring to the West Coast, with which alone he was acquainted. His description of the liquid as "exceeding sweet" bespeaks one who had personally tasted it; and his calling it the 'wine' of the Indians might indicate that it used to be offered to guests as a sign of hospitality, as is still done in some parts of the South-West Coast. For the coconut itself Cosmas employs the Sanskrit word *nārikela,* in its Greek version of *argellion.*[18]

We also learn that in India the buffalo had already been tamed, whereas in Ethiopia it was still in a wild state. In Malabar the buffalo used to be employed to transport pepper, and it also provided meat for the visitors from the Hellenic world.[19]

And lastly we are told that elephant fights were a favourite sport at the Indian courts of the day, and Cosmas was curious enough to ask how they were conducted. A breast-high transverse beam, so he was informed, separated the elephants, in order to prevent them from colliding against each other. The spectators divided themselves into two groups, one on either side, and incited the animals, which then lashed at each other with their trunks, till one of them gave up the fight.[20]

Cosmas was also something of a draughtsman and illustrated his manuscript with several drawings, among which we find the musk deer, the buffalo, the elephant, and the coconut palm with an Indian alongside of it, sickle in hand. Cosmas himself did not see the musk deer, and in drawing it he relied on his imagination. As for his buffalo, it is possible that with its protruding tusks, it is intended to represent the wild Ethiopian type. But the elephant and the Indian alongside of the coconut palm leave no room to doubt that they were sketched from real life.[21]

In conclusion, it would indeed be too much to say that Cosmas makes a significant contribution to Indian history, but he does give us a more complete picture of India in the sixth century than we would otherwise have.

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17. ibid., 445/46 — *Rhonchosoûra* is perhaps some skr. cpd. like *raṅka-sūrā,* meaning 'common drink'.

[18] *ibid.,* 443/46.

[19] *ibid.,* 441/42.

[20] *ibid.,* 449/50.

[21] *ibid.,* 469/70.

King Manukulāditya

BY

S. Sanku Ayyar

Bhāskara Ravivarman was almost the last of the Cēra Kings, holding sway over Kēraḷa from Koṭungallūr. In one of his inscriptions found engraved on the walls of the Tirumūḻikkaḷam Temple near Alwaye, Manukulādityadēva is mentioned as a donor of lands to that temple. In a Copper-Plate record of the 11th century A.D., usually known as the Travancore Huzur Office Plates, giving the details of the original scale of expenditure in the Viṣṇu Temple at Tiruvalla in the Alleppey District, the name of Manukulādityadēva occurs again as an endower of lands to that temple. The latter record states that Manukulādityadēva was a *Yuva-Rāja* (*Iḷam-kō*) when he endowed the lands.

Who is Manukulādityadēva? When did he live? In *Samkṣepa-Śārīraka,* a work on Advaita-Vedānta, it is mentioned that Sarvajñātma munī, the disciple of Dēvēsvara, was its author, and that the work was composed when Manukulādityadēva was the ruler of the land.[1] The verse furnishing this information[2] forms part of the last chapter of the work. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar notices this verse in his *History of Dekkan,* and observes that Dēvēsvara, the teacher of Sarvajñātma munī was Surēśvara, the pupil of the famous Śankarācārya, and that Manukulādityadēva was perhaps the Caḷukya King Vikramāditya II. Bhandarkar expresses the view that 'Manukulāditya' could not have been the name of the King, but a word conveying the meaning "Aditya (Sun) of the race of Manu." This particular verse in *Samkṣēpa-Śārīraka* has attracted the attention of S. Venkatesvara Ayyar also who agrees[3] with Bhandarkar's view that Devēśvara, the teacher of Sarvajñātma munī, was Surēśvara, the pupil of Śankarācārya. With regard to Manukulādityadēva, Venkatesvara Ayyar is of opinion that he was identical with Aditya I of the Cōḷa dynasty[4]

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[1] The book has been printed as No. 4 in Benares Sanskrit Series.

[2] Śrī dēvēsvara pādapankaja rajassamparkka pūtāśayah
Sarvajñātma girāṃkitō munivarah samkṣēpa Śārīrakam
cakrē sajjana buddhi vardhanamidam rājanya-vamsyē nṛpē
śrīmatyakṣata śāsanē manukulādityē bhuvam śāsatī.

The work *Saṁkṣēpa-Śārīraka* has many commentaries. One of them named *Anvayārtha-prakāśikā* takes the word "Śrīmān" occurring in the last line of the verse mentioned above, as a proper noun and as the name of the King in whose reign *Saṁkṣēpa-Śārīraka* was written, and all other words in it, including Manukulāditya, as adjectives qualifying the word 'Śrīmān'. According to this commentary, the meaning of the passage is that King Śrīmān, in whose reign the *Saṁkṣēpa-Śārīraka* was composed, was a Sun to the race of Manu (Manukula-Āditya). Among other scholars, Professor Hiriyanna accepts this interpretation, and attempts to identify 'Śrīmān' with 'Cēramān', the famous Cēramān-Perumāḷ of Kēraḷa, who was also of the race of Manu.[5]

When editing the Huzur Office Plates in the Travancore Archaeological Series, T. A. Gopinātha Rao, the then Director of Archaeology, critically examined the views of Bhandarkar and Venkatesvara Ayyar on the identification of the names in the *Saṁkṣēpa-Śārīraka* verse, and presented fresh evidence to prove that Dēvēsvara, the teacher of Sarvajñātma munī, was not Surēśvara, the disciple of Śankarācārya, but Dēvanandapāda, the disciple of Śrēṣṭhānandapāda, and that Dēvēsvara and Sarvājñātma munī lived some six or seven generations after Śankarācārya. Gopinatha Rao also drew the attention of scholars to the following facts regarding Manukulādityadēva and Sarvajñātma:

(1) King Manukulādityadēva mentioned in *Saṁkṣēpa-Śārīraka* should have reference to Manukulādityadēva referred to in the Huzur Office Plates and in the Tirumuḷikkaḷam Temple inscription;

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[3] See his article on 'The Date of Sankaracharya" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, January, 1916.

[4] See also Indian Antiquary for November, 1914.

[5] *Panca-prakriya* of Sarvajñātman, edited by T. R. Chintamani, University of Madras, Madras, 1946 (Bulletin of the Sanskrit Department No. 4), p. iii.

(2) Manukulāditya is a real name or *Biruda,* as opposed to a periphrastic word as suggested by Bhandarkar and Venkatesvara Ayyar;

(3) the name of Manukulādityadēva appears as such not only in poetic compositions, but also in independent prose inscriptions of Kērala;

(4) both Manukulādityadēva and Sarvajñātma munī should have connection with the Kērala country.[6]

As reasons for the last statement he mentioned the following: —

(1) Manukulādityadēva had endowed very extensive lands in Kēraḷa to the temples of Tiruvalla and Tirumuḻikkaḷam;

(2) there is a place called Manukulādica (tya) -mangalam near Trivandrum which must have acquired its name from King Manukulādityadēva of our records;

(3) in *Samkṣēpa-Śārīraka,* Sarvajñātma munī praises god Padmanabha of Trivandrum as his *Iṣṭa-Dēvata.*[7] It may be added that one of the verses of praise in *Samkṣepa-Śārīraka* even suggests that the author wrote the *grantha* in Trivandrum, and placed it at the lotus feet of the deity Padmanabha, to get, perhaps, publicity for it.

Gopinatha Rao did not identify Manukulādityadēva with any known King of Kēraḷa. But from the circumstance that the name occurred in an inscription engraved in the forty-ninth year of the reign of King Bhāskara Ravivarman, he inferred that Manukulāditya must have lived during the time of or before Bhāskara Ravivarman. According to Gopinatha Rao the forty-ninth year of the reign of Bhāskara Ravivarman falls in 979 A.D.

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[6] Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. II, pages 144-146.

[7] Avirala pada pamktih Padmanābhasya puṇṇyā-
carana kamala dhūligrāhiṇī bhāratīyam
ghanatara mupaghātam śrēyasah śrōtu samghāt
surasaridiva sadyō mārṣu mangalya hētuh.

Bhujāmgamānga śāyinē vihamgamānga gāminē
Turāngamānga bhēdinē namō rathānga dhāriṇē.

The date of Bhāskara Ravivarman has been more accurately fixed by Professor Eḷamkuḷam Kunjan Pillai. According to him Bhāskara Ravivarman ascended the throne of Kēraḷa in A.D. 962. This date brings Bhāskara Ravi's forty-ninth year of reign to 1011 A.D.[8] Eḷamkuḷam's assumption that there were more Kings than one with the name Bhāskara Ravivarman does not affect our point. A careful reading of Tirumūḻikkaḷam Temple inscription brings out that Manukulādityadēva was not a contemporary of Bhāskara Ravivarman, but one who lived sometime before that King. How long before, we are unable to ascertain from Tirumūḻikkaḷam inscription or from the Huzur Office Plates.

Fortunately for us, we get a clue from an unexpected source which enables us to identify Manukulādityadēva and to discover his date. That clue is a verse in the Sanskrit *Yamaka-kāvya*, '*Sītāharaṇā*'[9] by Nārāyaṇa, an old poet of Kēraḷa. Nārāyaṇa mentions in his work that when he composed the *kāvya,* King Ravi, also known as Manukulāditya was the ruler of the land.[10] In another verse in the same *kāvya,* the poet pays homage to God Śrī Rāma in the city of Śivapurī which, he says, was improved and made prosperous by Manukulāditya.[11] Where is Śivapuri?

There are three Śivapuris in Kēraḷa. The first is the famous Tṛśśivapērūr (Trichur) which has a main temple for Śiva (Vaṭakkum nāthar) and a sub-shrine for Śrī Rāma. The second is Mahōdayapura, also called Mahādēvar Paṭṭaṇam which comprised within it Tiruvancikkaḷam, Kotungallūr, Gōtramallēśvaram and Tṛkkaṇā-matilakam, the old Kuṇavāyil Kōṭṭam of Cilappatikāram. The third is Covvara. All these are in the old Cochin State. There are no Śrī Rāma temples in the latter two places. In his

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[8] *Cila-Kēraḷa-caritra-Praśnangaḷ,* Volume II, pp. 49-50.

[9] *Sītāharaṇa* has not been printed. Palm-leaf copies of it are preserved in the Oriental Manuscripts Library of the Kēraḷa University, Trivandrum. It is numbered L. 539 B. in the Library list.

[10] Astyavatāra viramadastapi bhūmērandhīśitā Ravir amadah
Sadvidhinamāyādyah sa manukulāditya iti nāmādyah.

[11] Ravivaṁśa sudhāmbudhinā manunā samuvāsa tatē satatēḍyaguṇah
Śivadhāmnipurē raghuvamśa maṇir dyuvatamsa samassa Saṁastha śivah.

'History of the Sanskrit Literature in Keraḷa' (Malayalam) Raja Raja Varma Raja of Vaṭakkumkūr identifies the Śivapuri of the *Yamaka-kāvya* with Tṛśśivapērūr (Trichur) as it has both Śiva and Rāma Temples.[12] I am inclined to think however that the Śivapuri of the *Yamaka-kāvya* is Mahōdayapuram (Mahadēvar Paṭṭaṇam), the present Koṭungallūr-Tiruvancikkaḷam area. The Śrī Rāma referred to by the author of the *Yamaka-kāvya* may have been the present Tṛkkulaśekharapuram Viṣṇu, whom Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār worshipped as Śrī Rāma, according to *Nālāyiraprabandham.* If there had been a separate Śrī Rāma Temple in the area, it might have been destroyed by the Dutch along with Tṛkkaṇā-matilakam. Mohōdayapuram was the capital of the Cēra Kings of the second Cēra empire, till it was sacked and destroyed by Rajendra Cōḷa I, in his last campaign against Kēraḷa. One of the Ravivarma Kulaśēkharas of the second Cēra empire ruling from this capital should have been the Manukuḷādityadēva mentioned in *Samkṣepa Śārīraka* and in the two inscriptions referred to. Since Bhāskara Ravivarman's inscription speaks of Manukulādityadēva as a former King who endowed lands, Bhāskara Ravi himself could not have been the Manukulādityadēva who was also called Ravi. According to Eḷamkuḷam Kunjan Pillai two Kings with the name of Ravi held sway over Kēraḷa from Koṭungaḷḷūr before Bhāskara Ravivarman. They were Sthāṇu Ravi (A.D. 844 to 855) and Kōda Ravi (A.D. 917 to 967). In the interval, Rāmavarma Kulaśēkhara was the ruler of the land (A.D. 855-917).[13] Either Sthāṇu Ravi, the contemporary of the Cōḷa King Āditya I, or Kōda Ravi, the successor of Rāma Varma Kulaśēkhara, should have been the Manukulādiyadēva of our records. But there are reasons to think that Sthāṇu Ravi could not have been Manukulādityadēva. The *Yamaka-kāvya* of the poet Nārāyaṇa is considered by scholars to be an imitation of another *Yamaka-kāvya "Yudhiṣṭhira Vijaya"* written by the famous Vāsudēva Bhaṭṭatirī of Perumanam. Vāsudēva Bhaṭṭatirī says in his works *"Śourikathā"* and *"Tripuradahanam"* that King Rāma Varma Kulaśēkhara was his patron. This Rāma Varma Kulaśēkhara is none other than Rāma Varma Kulaśēkhara who succeeded Sthāṇu Ravi. There was no other King

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[12] *Kēraḷīya-Samskṛta-Sāhitya-Caritram,* Vol. I, pp. 553-554.

[13] *Cila-Kēraḷa-Caritra-Praśnangal,* Vol. II, pp. 58-59.

with the name of Rāma Varma Kulaśēkhara immediately before Bhāskara Ravi Varman. We are therefore compelled to conclude that Manukulādityadēva whose identification we seek is Kōda Ravi Varma Kulaśēkhara of the second Cēra empire holding sway over Kēraḷa from Koṭungallūr in the period between 917 and 947 A.D.[14]

One question naturally arises here. If Kōda Ravi Varma of Koṭungallūr is Manukulādityadēva, how did a place near Trivandrum, some 150 miles away from Koṭungallūr, in a neighbouring country called Veṇāḍ, acquire the name Manukulādica (tya)-mangalam? This question may be easily answered. The Veṇād country within which Trivandrum and Manukulādica (tya) mangalam are situated, was under the suzerainty of the Koṭungallūr Emperors in the ninth and the tenth centuries A.D. The Āy dynasty of Kings who were holding the extreme South of the traditional Kēraḷa, had already become extinct, after the death of its last King Vikramāditya Varaguṇa; and Vēṇaḍ extended its Southern limit upto Nāncināḍ. Manukulādica (tya)-mangalam is a compact area, two miles to the South-East of Trivandrum City. This place is the property of an old Bhagavatī Temple called "Arakam" in Manukulāditya-mangalam, the ownership of which vests in the Sannyāsins performing *Puṣpāñjalī* service in the Śrī Padmanābha Svāmī Temple of Trivandrum. The *Puṣpāñjalī* Svāmiyārs or Sannyāsins of Padmanābhasvamī Temple are recruited from the Sannyāsins in the Tṛśśivapērūr (Trichur) Maṭhoms in the Cochin State, from time immemorial. Sarvajñātma munī, the saintly friend of Manukulādityadēva must have been a Sannyāsin of one of the *Maṭhoms* in Trichur recruited for *Puṣpāñjalī* in the Trivandrum Padmanābhasvamī Temple. On the request of Sarvajñātma munī,

[14] The verse in the *Yamaka-kāvya Sītāharaṇa,* which furnishes the information that Manukulāditya was the *Biruda* name of King Ravi of Kēraḷa, was first pointed out by Uḷḷūr S. Paramesvara Ayyar in his *'Keraḷa-Sahitya-Caritram'* (See Vol. I, pp. 124-125). Raja Raja Varma of Vaṭakkumkūr quotes another verse from the same *Yamaka-kāvya* which mentions that Manukulāditya improved Śivapuri and made it prosperous (See Vol. I, pp. 553-554 of his *'Kēraḷīya-Samskṛta-Sāhitya Caritra'*). But the identification of the names of places and persons in the verses made by them is incorrect. Eḷamkuḷam Kunjan Piḷḷai has correctly identified King Ravi and Manukulāditya of the *Yamaka kavya* with Kōda Ravi in his *'Cera-Sāmrājyam,'* p. 63.

Manukulādityadēva of Koṭungallūr might have caused a Bhagavatī Temple to be constructed at Arakam near Trivandrum City, the lands around the temple to be acquired and endowed to it under the name Manukulādica (tya) -mangalam and the management of the temple and lands to be entrusted to Sarvajñātma munī and his successors in *puṣpanjalī* service. We have already stated that the Arakam Bhagavatī Temple and the lands in Manukulādica (tya) -mangalam are even now under the control and management of the *Puṣpanjalī* Svāmiyārs of the Padmanābhasvāmī Temple in Trivandrum.

Thus, we can unhesitatingly state that Manukulādityadēva is Kōda Ravi Varma Kulaśēkhara who was holding sway over Kēraḷa from Koṭungallūr, between 917 and 949 A.D., and not Aditya I or II of the Cōḷa dynasty as is assumed by some scholars.[15]

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[15] K. V. Krishna Iyer, *A History of Kerala* (1965), p. 156.

Judicial Administration of the Punjab, 1849-75

BY

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The growth of the judicial administration of the Punjab may be divided into two distinct phases. The first covers the period, 1849-66, when the system of the administration of justice was simple and the Punjab Civil Code was in operation throughout the Province. During the second phase, 1866-75, the system previously existing in the Punjab was superseded by the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure for India because the Government of India wanted to have a uniform system of law for the whole of India. We shall first take up the period from 1849 to 1866 and subsequently notice the changes effected in the judicial administration during the second phase.

PERIOD I (1849-66)

Civil Law

In 1849 the Government of India decided that the Governor-General in Council was competent to make laws for the Punjab in his executive capacity. It was a departure from the earlier policy for when the territories comprising the North-Western Province were conquered, the Regulations in force previously in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were extended there with some local variations. This course was not considered expedient for the Punjab, because the Regulations at that time were exceedingly intricate and complicated. The mode adopted was to carry on the administration by means of executive orders, as guided by the Regulations of the other Provinces.[1]

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[1] Extract from the Proceedings of the Council of the Governor General for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations under the provisions of the Act of Parliament 24 and 25 Vic., Cap. 67 dated 26th March, 1872.

For the civil judicature the rules prevailing in the Sutlej states, which were calculated to ensure substantial justice, even prior to annexation, were observed.[2] But it was soon discovered that the public duties which officers performed in the Punjab were very heavy and to get through the daily work it was necessary for the officers to keep with them a Manual of rules to which they could easily refer on doubtful and difficult points. There was another reason also for having such a Manual. In the Punjab most of the people followed the Hindu and Mohammedan Codes. The Sikhs in civil and secular affairs, were generally bound by the Hindu law. Amongst the agricultural tribes however, there prevailed local customs which varied from district to district. It was therefore necessary for the Judge to know something of the European jurisprudence, the Indian Regulations and the Indian systems of law as also to have some insight into trade usage, the practices of the land holding community, the tenets of the Sikh sect and the manners of the Hill and Frontier tribes. It was necessary for him, when in doubt or ignorance, to have an easy means of reference[3] because, with his multifarious duties, he had but limited leisure for any deep study. Moreover, the absence of a Bar and a great paucity of *Pundits* and *Muftis* prevented the Judges from obtaining their expert advice. Under such circumstances a simple Manual seemed likely to be of great use.[4]

A Manual was accordingly prepared in 1853. It set forth the principles of the Hindu and Mohammedan laws, relating to the rules of inheritance, property of females, and adoption and disposition of property. On matters such as contracts, sales and mortgages, agency, bailment, usury, insolvency and libel, it laid down principles borrowed either from Regulation law or from European jurisprudence. It is important to point out that in the preparation of this Code much attention was given to the *lex-loci* or the local custom. In commercial affairs, such as partnership and bills of exchange, the prevailing practice, as ascertained from the heads of the mercantile community was laid down accordingly.

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[2] *PAR* (1849-51), para 93.

[3] P. Melville, Secy. to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab to I.J. Grant, Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India, dt. Lahore, the 25th July, 1853. Foreign Proceedings Nos. 186-88 dated 18th November, 1853.

[4] *PAR* (1852), para 248.

In certain subjects relating to betrothal, marriage and divorce, the Code specified rules which, after five years' experience of the administration of the Punjab, were best calculated to promote its social welfare.[5] This Manual of Civil Law was forwarded for consideration to the Government of India.[6] The Government gave their opinion that these rules of law might be given to the officers in the Punjab on the Chief Commissioner's own authority in the same manner as circular orders of the *Sudder Diwani* Courts.[7]

It is however interesting to point out that local customs, which grew out of practice were either done away with or modified from time to time for the benefit of the people. Thus the custom, so commonly followed in the Punjab, by which one could purchase a woman with the consent of her parents or husband, was put to a stop by the Government when it attracted their attention in 1851. Similarly the custom of shawl-weaving trade by which the second employer of a workman had to pay half of his debts ceased to be recognized by the courts in 1859. The second employer was thus sufficiently protected. This was done in accordance with the principles of administration which were announced by the Government at the time of the annexation of the Punjab.

Procedure

The rules for civil procedure which were promulgated[8] after annexation were also found to be too cumbersome and technical for practical use. In the abstract of civil law, it was not possible to deal with so large and intricate a subject. It was considered better to give the officers a sketch, however incomplete, of civil law, than to leave them to grope without guides, in matters in which the happiness, the interests and the well-being of the people were so intimately involved.[9]

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[5] *Idem*, para 249.

[6] P. Melville, Secy. to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab to I.J. Grant, Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India dt. Lahore, 25 July 1853, F.C. 18 Nov. 1853. Foreign Proceedings Nos. 186-88 dt.

[7] Minute by Lord Dalhousie, Foreign Proceeding No. 189 dated 18 November, 1853.

[8] *PAR* (1849-51), para 93.

In 1853 the rules for civil prcedure were prepared for the guidance of the courts. These provided for the direct representation of persons in courts, i.e., without the intervention of Pleaders. *Vakeels* and Attorneys were thus discouraged. The cost of the serving processes was charged in a lump sum on the institution of a suit instead of a separate payment for each process as in the Regulation Provinces. The litigants were allowed to take their cases to arbitrators but the court was given the power to reject or modify the award given by them. Restrictions were placed on the indiscriminate sale of the land. These provisions may sound strange but they were well-suited to the Punjab[10] at that time.

In 1853 the rules for civil law and procedure were submitted to the Government of India for approval.[11] The Government of India in reply expressed the opinion that the rules of law might be given on the Chief Commissioner's own authority, in the same manner as the Circular Orders of *Sudder Diwani Courts.* The rules of procedure were however referred to the Law Commission which was at that time entrusted with the task of simplifying the Code of Procedure for India generally. There was as such no need to enact a Code exclusively for the Punjab.[12] The Manual of Civil law was, however, compiled in one book which acquired its name as the Punjab Civil Code in 1854.

In 1859 when the Code of Civil Procedure for India had been got ready the Government of India invited the attention of the

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[9] P. Melville, Secy. to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab to I.J. Grant, Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India, dt. Lahore the 25th July, 1853. Foreign proceeding Nos. 186-188 dated 18th November 1853.

[10] R. H. Davies, Esq. Secy. to Govt. of Punjab and its Dependencies, to the Secy. to the Govt. of India, Foreign Department, Fort William dated Lahore, 13th Sept. 1859. Foreign Proceeding Nos. 83-112 dated 11th November, 1859.

[11] P. Melville, Secy. to the Chief Commissoner, Punjab to I.J. Grant, Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India, dt. Lahore, the 25th July, 1853. Foreign Procdg. Nos. 186-88 dated 18 November, 1853.

[12] Minute by Lord Dalhousie, Foreign Procdg. No. 189 dated 18th November, 1853.

Punjab Government to it and enquired what portion of it was unsuited to the Punjab. The object of making this reference was to have a uniform system of law all over India.[13] The Punjab Government pointed out the following as the main objections to the introduction of the Code:—[14]

1. The Code of Civil Procedure for India assumed the existence of a separate judiciary for dispensing civil justice, and a Bar of authorised Pleaders. Under the Punjab system both these conditions were wanting. The civil judges in the Punjab acted as Magistrates as well as Collectors of revenue and thus one set of officers administered every department of Government. The compulsory introduction of Pleaders in the court as provided for in the Code was also not suited to the Punjab.
2. The provision of the Code which required that a suit should first of all be instituted in the lowest court was not suited to the litigants because in the Punjab a suit could be instituted either in a *Tahsil* or Sudder Court according to the convenience of the plaintiff. Again the provision of the Code which prescribed punishment for not observing punctuality was not suited to the parties because in the Punjab they often appeared before the courts only according to their convenience.

The Punjab Government admitted that the new Code was more scientific and made comprehensive than the Manual which had for several years been in force in the Punjab. But at the same time they pointed out that the Punjab Civil Code worked well in practice, was thoroughly intelligible to the officers who administered it, and was also suited to the people. The Code of Civil Procedure was still untried, was sometimes at variance with the principles evolved by judicial experience in the Punjab and sometimes enunciatory of provisions and technicalities which were either superfluous or liable to abuse. The chief reason for not adopting the Code was that its conditions were too stringent and its provisions too technical for the Punjab. Under these circumstances the Punjab Government suggested that the best way for them to avail of the fresh light afforded by the Act was to keep an eye on the necessity of adopting this enactment at some future date and avoid any further divergence from it. Such portions of it as were manifest improvements were to be adopted. For instance, the same legal phrases and the same terms of legal services, as in the Code of Civil Procedure for India, were to be used to bring the practice in the Punjab into harmony with that in other Provinces. In this way the Punjab law was to borrow much from the Code but its adoption in its entirety was strongly deprecated. The adoption of this course, which would gradually lead to an assimilation of practice all over India, was sanctioned by the Government of India.[15]

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[13] Under Secy. Foreign Department, to the Secy. to the Govt. of Punjab and its Dependencies, dt. 25th May, 1859. Foreign Procdg. Nos. 83-112 dt. 11 Nov. 1859.

[14] R. H. Davies, Esq., Secy. to Govt. of Punjab and its Dependencies to the Secy. to the Govt. of India Foreign Dept. Fort William, dt. Lahore 13 Sept. 1859.

Criminal Law

According to the policy of the Government the criminal law in the Punjab was from the first based upon the Code of the Presidencies. The spirit of that Code was retained but modifications were made in it to suit the circumstances of the Punjab. In making these deviations the peculiarities of the people were kept in view.[16] Thus the local laws which regulated the tracing of criminals and enforced the responsibility of the landholders for their pursuit and apprehension prior to the British occupation of the Punjab continued to remain in force even now. This was in keeping with the administrative policy of the Government "to uphold the institutions and practices of the people as far as they were consistent with the distribution of justice to all classes."

Crimes which did not denote great moral depravity, and were not subversive of social order were treated with leniency, but crimes which were socially dangerous were treated with severity.[17] Thus gang robbery was punished with exemplary severity and in cases of murder or serious wounding the ring leaders were sentenced to capital punishment.[18] Cattle lifting was punished with corporal punishment;[19] child lifting, with imprisonment for 10 to 15 years;[20] adultery, with committal to sessions; and torture, with a long term of imprisonment ranging from 2 to 7 years.[21]

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[15] R. H. Davies, Esq., Secy. to Govt. of Punjab and its Dependencies to the Secy. to the Govt. of India, Foreign Deptt. Fort William, dt. Lahore 13th Sept., 1859.

[16] Foreign Miscellaneous Department, S. No. 156, No. in the list, 356-59, para 94.

[17] *Idem*, para 193.

In 1856 punishments were made milder. The Magistrates were urged to be sparing in their punishments, and to substitute such penalties as finger-stripes for imprisonment. In the case of cattle-lifting, stripes as a substitute for imprisonment, were not found to be efficacious and the penalty of fine was therefore introduced.[22] The primary defect in the criminal law was that imprisonment constituted the chief mode of punishment. The second admitted defect was that even for minor offences, the terms of imprisonment were too long. The penalty of fine was little used and flogging was entirely discarded.[23]

To remove these defects changes were made in the criminal law in 1859. The penalty of fine was rendered a universal punishment and the courts were given a right to recover fines by distraint and sale. The Deputy Commissioner could fine upto five hundred rupees, the power of his subordinates being less extensive. The Commissioners of Divisions were empowered to fine upto two thousand rupees and the Judicial Commissioner upto ten thousand rupees on his own authority.[24]

This change in the criminal law modified the penalty of imprisonment. Offences were now divided into three classes: (i) those in which imprisonment was a necessary part of punishment; (ii) those in which imprisonment was left to the discretion of the court, and (iii) those in which imprisonment was entirely prohibited, except as an alternative in case of non-realization of fine.

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[18] *Idem*, para 194.

[19] *Idem*, para 198.

[20] *Idem*, para 190.

[21] *Idem*, para 200.

[22] Foreign Miscellaneous Department S. No. 157, No. in the list, 362-5, para 19.

[23] Judicial Commissioner, Punjab to the Secy. to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, No. 642-5408 dt. 29 Dec., 1859. Barkley's Non-Regulation Law of the Punjab (Lahore, 1871), pp. .86-7.

[24] Minute by the Judicial Commissioner for the Punjab. Non-Regulation Law of the Punjab, p. 90.

Flogging under certain limitations, was legalised for some kinds of offences under classes (i) and (ii). To increase the rigour of punishment, and to curtail the duration of sentences, labour was made imperative on all convicts. The permission to commute it for fine was abrogated entirely.[25]

All these changes in criminal law were superseded by the Penal and Criminal Procedure Codes which came into force in the Punjab on 1st January, 1862. The Judicial Commissioner and the Sessions Judges now decided cases in conformity with the Codes and no longer adhered to the rules previously in force in the Punjab. No order was now allowed to be reversed on appeal unless there was a substantial failure of justice.[26] Improvements were also made in the matter of general amenities available in the courts. Seats were provided and proper accommodation was given to assessors and arbitrators.[27]

In 1865 the Government of India extended the Whipping Act (VI of 1869) to the Punjab. Its operation was too much restricted by one of its provisions which declared whipping to be an alternative but not an additional punishment in cases of first conviction. In the great majority of cases which came before them, the Magistrates did not consider whipping alone as a punishment, adequate or deterrent. Whipping consequently came to be resorted to only as a punishment for minor cases, and the more heinous offenders were sentenced to fine and imprisonment.[28]

Procedural Details

We may now examine the various reforms which were made in regard to the procedural details followed in the courts. It should be kept in view that the aim of the Board of Administration was to avoid technicality and circumlocution and to simplify and abridge every rule, procedure and process. Only in this way substantial justice could be extended to the people who were unused to the intricacies of legal proceedings.[29]

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[25] *PAR* (1859-60), para 17.

[26] *PAR* (1862-63), para 28.

[27] *Idem*, para 31.

[28] *PAR* (1865-66), para 37.

[29] Foreign Miscellaneous Department, S. No. 156, No. in the list, 356-59, para 221.

(1) *Arbitration*: Arbitration was resorted to with the sanction of the court. The attachment of the people to their own jury system was unabated and in about one-third of the cases it was resorted to. The awards of arbitrators were, however, carefully scrutinized. In about one-third of the cases arbitrated by them the award was modified by the courts.[30]

(2) *Pleaders*: It was an important feature of the system of civil procedure to bring the litigants face to face with the courts. Pleaders were not allowed to appear before the courts because they were not qualified. Beginnings were therefore made in this direction in 1861 by sending instructions to the Director of Public Instruction to form law classes in Government Schools.[31]

(3) *Serving Process*: The system that was in force in the Punjab in regard to *Tulabana*[31a] was to charge the fees from the plaintiff in a lump sum on the institution of a suit at the rate of one per cent on the value of the suit.[32] No extra charge was made whatever for the number of processes issued. The system was simple and convenient but complaints were common that it led to reckless summoning of a large number of witnesses and to protracted enquiries.[33] It was therefore proposed to modify the system and charge a reduced *advalorem fee per process* instead of a consolidated fee once for all.[34]

(4) *Execution of Decrees*: In the execution of decrees the defendants were allowed to make payments in instalments and care was also taken to see that landed property was not unnecessarily brought to the hammer.[35] The Punjab in this respect profited from the experience gained in Bengal and the North Western Provinces because the sale of property in these Provinces had

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[30] *PAR* (1854-55 and 55-56) para 9.

[31] *Idem*, para 18.

[31a] Daily pay or fees to a subordinate officer of the court charged with serving process, issuing summonses or writ, payable by the parties on whom they are served.

[32] *PAR* (1866-67) para 38.

[33] *PAR* (1865-66), para 15.

[34] This proposal was accepted in 1866.

[35] Foreign Misc. Deptt. S. No. 156, No. in the List 356-57, para 227.

created bitterness and disaffection towards the Government.[36] Such a step was particularly needed in the Punjab because the money lenders were not sympathetic to the poor cultivators and charged exorbitant rate of interest to impoverish them. In 1859 the sale of land in execution of decrees was prohibited[37] in the Punjab except with the express permission of the Judicial Commissioner. This measure proved beneficial because it fully safeguarded the interest of the cultivators.[38]

(5) *Registration*: It was common for the plaintiff to bring antiquated claims before the courts within the term of the Limitation Statute (12 years) by adding entries in the deeds to show that a regular money account was being kept from the date of the original transaction. Defendants, mostly agriculturists, were terrified or cajoled into compromising unjust claims by giving false bonds for gradual payment. On these claims the plaintiff subsequently sued them.[39] In 1856, in order to help the agriculturist, the period within which suits for bonded debts were to be brought before the courts was reduced from 12 years to 6. It was declared that debts upto 12 years' standing would not be recoverable in the courts after 1st May, 1857, from which date suits would only be heard within the six-year term. Immediately all types of old claims were brought forward lest they should be barred for ever. In spite of this restriction the number of suits for debts formed the main bulk of litigation. As a rule the agriculturist was at a disadvantage. He obtained advances from the banker at harvest time, who afterwards used the court as an engine to exact from him more than was his due. The banker no doubt had undue advantage over other classes and was therefore unpopular.[40]

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[36] Extract from the Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of the Governor General of India assembled for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations under the provisions of the Act of Parliament 24 and 25 Vic., Cap. 67, dated the 5th September, 1871.

[37] General Report on the Administration of British India, p. 374.

[38] R. Simson, Esqr., Secy. to the Govt. of India with the Governor General to R.A. Davies, Esq., Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab and its Dependencies dt. Allahabad the 21 January, 1859, Foreign Procdg. No. 146 dt. 15 April 1859.

[39] Foreign Misc. Deptt. S. No. 156, No. in the List 356-57, para 227.

[40] *PAR* (1856-57 and 57-58), para 8.

Legal measures were devised to check the growing litigation in regard to bonded debts, or suits founded on banker's books and to place the borrower upon a more equal footing with the lender. In 1856 the period of limitation was reduced to six years. The result was that it became much easier to judge the truth of such accounts. Many more suits relating to bonded debts were discovered to have been fabricated or exaggerated, and a large proportion of such suits was disposed of. Still it was thought that the debtor was at a disadvantage under the six year rule, and in certain cases the term was reduced to three years. Such cases included those relating to debt and accounts, disputes between master and servant, employer and agent, and those relating to marriage, betrothal and maintenance, claims to hereditary fees and the management of religious institutions. In cases relating to trespass, nuisance, personal grievance, pre-emption and caste, the limit was fixed at three months.[41]

In 1859 it was noticed that the system of evidence was defective. The bonds contained no specific admission of obligations, and were often unattested. The books were kept at the mercy of the creditor and were without any check in themselves. Bonds for sums above 50 rupees were therefore required to be registered at the *Tahsil* or *Zillah* Courts.[42] Accounts were now to comprehend both a ledger and a day book, models of which were circulated.[43] The people were as yet illiterate and this innovation was rather a bold one. Public opinion was therefore opposed to it.[44]

The result of these reforms which imposed restrictions on the admission of documentary evidence was that parole debts were steadily increasing.[45] When claims based on account books were brought into court, the plaintiff was obliged to fall back upon oral evidence for proof of his claim, and the suit became nominally one for parole debt. An analogous result took place from the fact that under these instructions, bonds for sums above 50 rupees were not admissible in evidence unless registered. A person whose claim was secured by an unregistered bond could not sue upon the bond if the sum exceeded fifty rupees. He was allowed however to prove his claim *aliunde,* and the case from being one on the bond was converted into one for parole debt. The effect of these restrictions was thus to swell the number of suits for parole debts and to decrease the number of those on account and on unregistered bonds.[46]

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[41] R. Simson, Esq., Secy. to the Govt. of India with the Governor General to R. H. Davies, Esqr., Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab and its Dependencies dt. Allahabad the 21 January 1859; Foreign Procdg. No. 145 dt. 15 April, 1859.

[42] *PAR* (1859-60), para 2.

[43] R. Simon, Esqr., Secy. to the Govt. of India with the Governor General to R. H. Davies, Secy. to the Govt. of Punjab and its Dependencies, dt. Allahabad, the 21 January, 1859. Foreign Procdg. No. 145 dt. 15th April 1859.

[44] *PAR* (1862-63), para 13.

[45] 1860—11,344, 1866—34,032, (*PAR* (1866-67), para 3).

This leads us to conclude that these reforms were not beneficial and did not result in the introduction of more business-like habits among the people. It increased the number of parole debts, and its effect was pernicious. There was a tendency to exclude written evidence. In its stead it substituted oral evidence of still less value.[47]

It was however in 1859 that registration was made compulsory[48] for the better regulation of documentary evidence. Previously only deeds connected with real property were registered. No disposition was shown to register simple contracts.[49] In 1860 registration was forced upon the people by the provisions of the Stamp Act.[50] Deeds were now registered in obligation for the payment of money, mortgage and sale of gifts.[51]

(6) *Appeals to Courts*: Initially the increase of appeals was considered a favourable sign in the Punjab because it showed that the people were gaining confidence in the appellate courts.[52] But in 1857 it was felt that the number of appeals allowed in individual cases was excessive and clogged the action of the

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[46] *PAR* (1866-67), para 3.

[47] *Idem.*

[48] R. Simson, Esq., Secy. to the Govt. of India with the Governor General to R. H. Davies, Secy. to the Govt. of Punjab and its Dependencies, dt. Allahabad, the 21st January, 1859, Foreign Procdg. No. 145, dt. 15 April, 1859.

[49] *PAR* (1859-60), para 2.

[50] *PAR* (1861-62), para 16.

[51] *PAR* (1866-67), para 36.

[52] *PAR* (1851-53), para 246.

courts. It was therefore desirable to put some limitation on the power of appeal.[53] In 1859 it was decided that when a decree of a Deputy Commissioner or Assistant Commissioner with full powers was affirmed on appeal by the Commissioner, there was to be no further appeal to the Judicial Commissioner but he was empowered to call for any such case wherein he saw reason for so doing.[54] This restriction in regard to the revision of the proceedings of the lower courts was necessary. The superior courts, in this way, were not given the power to insist on the complete investigation of cases so long as the Judges discharged both executive and revenue duties, underwent no special training for judicial work and were unassisted by educated and respectable Pleaders. In consideration also of the ignorance of suitors who generally conducted their own causes, it was not deemed expedient to withhold from the appellate courts the power of admitting supplementary pleas and evidence.[55] The reason was to ensure substantial justice by means of the existing judiciary. It was ruled that second appeals were not admissible, unless some distinct error of law was pointed out in the decision of an Assistant Commissioner with ordinary powers or of a *Tahsildar,* or in any suit in the nature of those cognizable in the Small Cause Courts where the value of the claims was under five hundred rupees.[56]

Constitution of Courts

It is now necessary to examine the constitution of the courts in the Punjab. Every District was divided into three or four administrative units, each presided over by an Indian Officer, styled *Tahsildar,* who, among other functions, exercised the powers of a Civil Judge in small causes of which the value did not exceed 300 rupees. In the Punjab there were 104 such Small Cause Courts in 1856. These courts were centrally situated, so that none had normally to travel more than fourteen miles to reach them. The great majority, however, would have travelled only a distance of about seven miles and many, not more than three or four miles. Thus justice was practically brought near to the poor man's door. Each person who left his home in the morning could return home in the evening after transacting his business in the court during the day. This method was very popular. Two-thirds of the judicial business in the Punjab were performed in these courts.[57]

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[53] *PAR* (1856-57) and (1857-58), para 9.

[54] R. Simson, Esq., Secy. to the Govt. of India to R. H. Davies, Esq., Secy. to the Govt. of Punjab, dt. Allahabad 21 January, 1859. Foreign Procdg. No. 145 dt. 15 April, 1859.

[55] *PAR* (1861-62), para 8.

[56] *Idem.,* para 13.

Besides these *Tahsildari* Courts there were three other types of courts in the Punjab which were presided over by Deputy Commissioners, Assistant Commissioners and Extra Assistant Commissioners respectively. The first two consisted of European commissioned officers, the third class was made up of both Europeans and Indians.[58] The procedure adopted in these courts was just as quick and cheap as in the *Tahsildari* Courts. The system of dispensing justice was also uniform in all these courts.[59]

In 1860 the Government of India passed an Act for the establishment of courts in the Provinces for the easier recovery of small debts and demands.[60] Small Cause Courts were therefore established at Delhi, Simla, Amritsar, Lahore and Peshawar in 1861. By 1864 their number increased to eight. During 1865 one-fifth of the total litigation of the Punjab was disposed of by the Judges of these Courts. In the Districts where these Courts were established, more than half of the total litigation was disposed of by them. Their establishment was a great boon to the Punjab.[61] As there was no appeal against these courts only persons with an outstanding judicial aptitude and a high sense of duty were appointed as Judges to preside over them.[62]

These courts followed the Code of Civil Procedure and, for a long time, transacted purely judicial business. The District Courts derived considerable benefit from the lessons taught by these courts. Formerly the fixing of a day for the hearing of a case was an absolutely difficult matter because the parties seldom appeared at the time fixed for hearing it. Now punctuality was the rule, not the exception. These were the advantages of the Small Cause Courts.[63]

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[57] *PAR* (1854-55 and 55-56), para 7.
[58] *PAR* (1852-53), para 237.
[59] *PAR* (1854-55 and 55-56), para 7.
[60] *PAR* (1861-62), para 14.
[61] *PAR* (1864-65), para 12.
[62] *PAR* (1866-67), para 19.

Similarly, in 1862, for the disposal of criminal business Honorary Jagirdar Magistrates' Courts were established. Local *Jagirdars* were invested with magisterial powers in rural areas.[64] Similarly, during the same year, Honorary Indian Magistrates also were appointed in the large cities. They were attached to the police office for the disposal of petty criminal cases. This experiment was first tried at Lahore. The Magistrates were residents of the city and were selected for their rank and the good repute they enjoyed among their fellow townsmen. They discharged their functions satisfactorily and found favour with the people.[65] By 1866 these courts were extended to Amritsar, Gujranwala[66] and Panipat.[67]

In accordance with the policy of the Government of India a Chief Court was established in the Punjab by Act XIX of 1865. This Act placed the existing judicial system upon a recognized legal basis. Its provisions effected some material innovations upon previous practices. Thus, suits regarding land, or "the rent revenue and produce of land," which hitherto were heard on the revenue side of the courts, were now heard as ordinary civil suits, except in Districts where a settlement of land revenue was in progress. The change was nominal because the courts and the Judges remained the same as before, but the rules of procedure were now more strictly observed on the civil than on the revenue side of the courts, and the Judges acted under the supervision of the Chief Court.[68] With the passing of this Act the civil and criminal rules of procedure previously in force in the Punjab were superseded by the Code of Civil Procedure for India and the Indian Penal and Criminal Code.

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[63] Report on the Administration of Civil Justice in the Punjab, (Lahore Division), 1862.

[64] PAR (1861-62), para 23.

[65] PAR (1861-62), para 22.

[66] PAR (1862-63), para 33.

[67] PAR (1865-66), para 24.

[68] PAR (1865-66), para 17.

Section 13 of this Act provided that suits should be instituted in the court of lowest jurisdiction competent to try the same, but section 15 gave power to the Deputy Commissioners to remove any case from one subordinate court to his own or to another subordinate court. This was not in accordance with the previous practice, according to which the courts at the *Sudder* station possessed concurrent jurisdiction with the *Tahsil* Courts, and plaintiffs at their own option instituted a suit either in the *Tahsil* or in the *Sudder* Court. The new law was objected to on two grounds. In the first instance, it caused inconvenience to the plaintiffs and delay in the disposal of cases. This could not be helped because the number of suits in some localities was so large than the *Tahsil* officers could not dispose of them. The only alternative was to withdraw suits from the *Tahsil* to the *Sudder* Courts. Secondly, the concurrent jurisdiction of the *Tahsil* and *Sudder* Courts was abused. It frequently happened that people lodged suits at the *Sudder* in preference to the *Tahsil,* not for securing justice but for causing annoyance to the defendants.[69]

This Act of 1865 also enhanced the jurisdiction of Assistant Commissioners and gave Commissioners of Divisions jurisdiction in original as well as appellate cases. Moreover it gave power to the Punjab Government to invest *Naib Tahsildars* with judicial powers and to appoint additional Judges to dispose of arrears which might accumulate in any District or Divisional Court.[70]

In the year 1866, the Chief Court of Judicature was established in the Punjab with Mr. A. A. Roberts, the former Judicial Commissioner, and Mr. C. Boulnois, Barrister-at-Law, formerly First Judge of the Calcutta Court of Small Causes, as its Judges.[71] The court started functioning from the 3rd March, 1866.[72] The object of establishing this court was to improve the administration of justice in the Punjab.[73]

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[69] *Idem.*

[70] *Idem.*

[71] *PAR* (1866-67), para 1.

[72] *PAR* (1866-67), para 2.

[73] *Idem.*

With the establishment of this court, the first attempt at the periodical publication of its decisions was also made by the proprietors of the Punjab Printing Company. Upto this period no reports of decided cases were published. Precedents were thus unknown. The provisions of the Punjab Civil Code and the Circulars of the Judicial Commissioner constituted the entire *corpus juris civilis* of the courts. The recognition of the importance of the periodical publication of the decisions of the Chief Court was to bring about uniformity in the interpretation of the law.[74]

Thus we see that upto 1866 the simple procedure of the Punjab Civil Code was maintained. The absence of a separate judicial agency and a qualified Bar had so far prevented the introduction of more voluminous codes. But with the increase of wealth, commerce and education in the Punjab, the time had now come for the gradual introduction of the more precise procedure and a more elaborate system.[75] In 1866, therefore, Act VIII of 1859 was extended to the Punjab. This was the Code of Civil Procedure of the Regulation Provinces.[76]

With the extension of these Acts to the Punjab the law regulating the administration of civil justice in the Province was assimilated to that in force in the North Western Provinces. The same procedure obtained in the courts of original jurisdiction and the same Stamp Acts were in force in both the Provinces. The law regulating the qualification and admission of Pleaders was the same. The same law of limitation was applied, and the same Evidence Act was in operation. The laws of the two Provinces were to be still more closely assimilated on the extension of the Act for the Registration of Assurances and the Act for Regulating the Employment and Remuneration of Peons for the Service of the Civil Process, to the Punjab.

There were however some points of distinction which still remained between the judicial systems of the two Provinces. In the first instance, there was a separate judicial agency in the North Western Provinces for the trial of civil suits. In the Punjab, civil as well as criminal justice was administered by officers who were charged also with executive and administrative duties. Secondly, under the Punjab appellate system litigants were allowed to prefer an appeal from every order or decision of a subordinate court to the different appellate courts, according to their jurisdiction and ultimately to the Chief Court. In the North Western Provinces only one regular appeal on the facts was specially allowed on points of law, but it was made to the High Court and not to any other court. Thirdly, in the North Western Provinces suits for rent, revenue or land were heard by Collectors, exercising jurisdiction under Act X of 1859. In the Punjab these suits were heard in the ordinary civil courts.[77]

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[74] *PAR* (1866-67), para 17(3).

[75] Minute by Hon'ble Sir Robert Montgomery, Political 'A' Procdg. No. 63-64, dated, January, 1865.

[76] *PAR* (1866-67), para 1.

PERIOD II (1866-75)

Laws

After the passing of the Indian Councils Act, 1861, it became necessary to declare the laws which were in force in the Punjab. Section 25 of this Act gave the force of law to all the orders[78] which were hitherto issued by the Punjab officials although they were not intended to be laws or Regulations.[79] This created much confusion and it became necessary to consolidate all the rules and orders which were in operation in the Punjab. We may cite here three distinct instances to illustrate the extent of the inconvenience that was caused to the people by this state of law.

(1) In the Governor-General's Council a discussion arose on the Punjab Tenancy Act in regard to the question whether the Bengal Regulation VII of 1822 relating to Settlement Law was or was not introduced into the Punjab. This was a question upon which any two persons might form different opinions. The view taken by Sir Richard Temple and Lord Lawrence, on the one side, was entirely different from that taken by a distinguished Settlement Officer, Mr. Prinsep, on the other. The Chief Court of the Punjab took the same view as Mr. Prinsep and held that the

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[77] *PAR* (1866-67), para 41.

[78] Memorandum on the legal position of the Punjab and its Dependencies, dated 13th January, 1865. Legislative Procdg. No. 334, dated May, 1872.

[79] Mr. Stephen on the Punjab Laws Bill. Legislative Procdg. No. 381, dated May, 1872, p. 58.

Regulation was law in the Punjab. This resulted in a lengthy discussion. The view of Lord Lawrence and Sir Richard Temple was that Regulation VII of 1822 was never introduced into the Punjab. It was given to the Settlement Officers as a guide in their proceedings for the settlement of the Punjab. But Mr. Prinsep reversed a number of decisions which were given by the early Settlement Courts. by reducing to the status of tenants-at-will a large number of tenants recorded in the previous settlements as having a right of occupancy. This controversy between two leading authorities clearly showed the great need for putting into a definite shape the laws which were in force in the Punjab.[80]

(2) In the Punjab the criminal tribes were not permitted to leave a District without the prior permission of the police authorities because the rules for their control and surveillance were long before in force and were also acted upon for a considerable time. The Chief Court of the Punjab declared that these rules did not have the force of law and that they did not form part of the rules which were confirmed by the Indian Councils Act. The effect of this ruling was that a number of wandering criminal tribes came to be set free from all control. A number of officers in the Punjab were accused of having committed a series of illegal acts although they believed that they were only discharging their duties. This again was another instance of the extreme practical inconvenience of the uncertainty as to what was or what was not the law in the Punjab.[81]

(3) The insolvency rules contained in the Punjab Civil Code were different from those prevalent in other parts of India. Under the Code of Civil Procedure the rule governing the disposal of property of a debtor towards the payment of the loan of his creditors was rather strange. It laid down that the man who got the first judgment among the creditors should be paid in full; whereas the other creditors distributed among themselves the remaining property or assets of the debtor. This was not at any time the law in the Punjab. Under the Punjab law the procedure

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[80] Mr. Stephen on the Punjab Laws Bill Legislative Procdg. No. 381, dated May, 1872 (page 58).

[81] Mr. Stephen on the Punjab Laws Bill, Legislative Procdg. No. 381, 1872, page 59).

followed in regard to the repayment of the loan of the creditors was that the property of the debtor should be divided proportionately among the creditors, i.e. the value of the property and other assets of the debtor should be equitably assessed and must be so divided among the creditors that everyone of them should get a fixed ratio. One of the Judges of the Chief Court held in the case Atar Kaur *versus* Atma Singh (1870) that these rules did not have the force of law and declared them null and void. Another Judge, in Bick's case (1867), held with equal earnestness that they had the force of law.[82]

The Punjab Laws Act of 1872[83] cleared away the doubts which existed as to the legal force of the Punjab Civil Code, the Bengal Regulations, and various administrative rules and orders which were believed to have acquired the force of law under the Indian Councils Act. This was done by distinctly laying down which of the Acts of the Governor-General were in force in the Punjab, and by re-enacting in simple and clear language those portions of the Punjab Civil Code, the Regulations or the orders of the Government which it was considered essential to preserve. This Act prescribed that in questions regarding inheritance, special property of females, betrothal, marriage, dower, adoption, guardianship, bastardy, family relations, the custom of the Punjab would guide the courts unless they were contrary to 'justice, equity or good conscience'.[84] The law of the Punjab now became as definite as the law of any Province of India.[85]

Procedural details

We may now notice the effects of the Code of Civil Procedure (Act VII of 1859) upon procedural details. This Act was extended to the Punjab in 1866.

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[82] Mr. Stephen on the Punjab Laws Bill, Legislative Procdg. No. 381, dated May, 1872, p. 59.

[83] See Appendix I for full text of the Act.

[84] *PAR* (1871-72), para 168(5).

[85] Extract from the Proceedings of the Council of the Governor General of India assembled for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations under the provision of the Act of Parliament, 24 and 25 Vic. Cap. 67, dated the 26th March, 1872.

(1) *Arbitration*: The previous rules relating to arbitration were superseded. Arbitrators were now appointed only with the consent of the parties and their award was final. This resulted in a decrease in the proportion of cases referred to them because the attraction for the modification of their decision ceased to be there.[86] Another cause for the decrease in the number of these cases was that the arbitrators now accepted bribes from the people and made themselves unpopular.[87] The litigants therefore gradually abandoned arbitration[88] in favour of decisions by the civil and criminal courts.[89]

(2) *Pleaders*: They were now admitted in the courts.[90] Rules were issued in regard to their qualification, admission and enrolment in the Chief Court and in the subordinate courts of the Punjab. Rules were also made for the payment of fees to them for their professional advice.[91]

(3) *Serving Process*: The system of *Tulabana* hitherto followed in the Punjab was not in accordance with the provisions of the Code of Civil Procedure and it required revision. The rates at which the fees were levied yielded much more than was required for the actual service of process. With the introduction of the system of stamps on petitions of plaint the rates of *Tulabana* pressed heavily upon the litigants.[92]

Hitherto, under the Punjab system, a peon charged with the service of summons ordinarily accompanied the defendant into the court, though he was prohibited from using any force in causing his attendance. In the North-Western Provinces it was the practice merely to serve the summons upon the defendant, and this was all that was required by Act VIII of 1859.[93] The Chief Court recommended the extension of this system to the Punjab in 1866.[94]

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[86] *PAR* (1866-67), para 12.
[87] Report on the Administration of Civil Justice, 1870, para 121.
[88] *Idem.*, 1871, para 73.
[89] *Idem*, para 73.
[90] *PAR* (1866-67), para 1.
[91] *PAR* (1866-67), para 39.
[92] *Idem.*, para 38.
[93] *Idem.*, para 15.
[94] *Idem.*, para 38.

(4) *Execution of Decrees*: The provisions of the Penal Code by which fines could be realised only from the sale of the offender's moveable property led sometimes to the failure of justice.[95] The amended Code of Criminal Procedure (Act VIII of 1869) removed this obstacle by providing for the sale of the offender's immoveable property wherever it was found. This facilitated the award of compensation.[96]

(5) *Registration*: The previous rules relating to Registration were superseded by the Indian Registration Act which came into force in the Punjab from 1st January, 1868.[97] A Registrar was now appointed to look after the working of this Department. We have already seen that under the former system registration of deeds of every description of Rs. 50 and upwards in value was compulsory but with the introduction of this Act it became compulsory only in regard to those deeds which in any way affected the immoveable property of one hundred rupees and upwards in value.[98] Between 1868 and 1875 there was thus a decrease in the number of documents that were registered because under the new law registration was no longer compulsory and no weight was attached to it as evidence in the courts as was previously the case.[99]

(6) *Appeals to Courts:* The Act regulating the Chief Court (Act IV of 1866) made no provision for an appeal from a decree made by a single Judge in the exercise of original jurisdiction. The consequence was that cases which were heard in the first instance before a single Judge, were subject to no appeal whatever within the limits of India. These cases had to go upto the Privy Council if the parties desired to appeal at all. This caused much waste of time and money. In 1875 an Act (No. XIX of 1875) was passed, and it authorised an appeal in such cases to a Bench of two Judges of the same court. This was known as the Punjab Chief Court Appeals Act.[100]

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[95] *PAR* (1866-67), para 55.

[96] *PAR* (1868-69), para 109.

[97] Report in the Administration of the Registration Department, 1868, para 2.

[98] *Idem.*, para 28.

[99] *PAR* (1874-75), para 128.

[100] *PAR* (1875-76), para 71.

Working of the Courts

The working of the courts may be divided into two periods:—

Period I. (1849-66)
Period II. (1866-75)

Period — I

During this period more and more cases were coming before the courts[100a] until in 1858 the proportion of the suits exceeded that of the Bengal Presidency and other parts of India.[101] The increase in civil cases was due to the reduction in the period of limitation within which suits could be brought before the courts. Towards the end of 1856, the period within which the suits for bonded debts were brought before the courts was ordered to be reduced from 12 years to 6. It was declared that debts upto 12 years would not be recoverable in the courts after the 1st May, 1857, from which date suits would be heard only within the six year term. Immediately all sorts of claims were brought forward lest they should be time-barred for ever.[102] Again in 1859 the new rule of limitation reduced the term from 6 to 3 years.[103] This resulted in a great increase of litigation.[104]

The increase in criminal cases was due to superior vigour and efficiency in intelligence work of the police.[105] In addition to it there were some other reasons for the increase of these cases. In the first place, many offences of a very petty character which formerly used to pass unnoticed were now brought into the court. This was especially the case as regards petty nuisances, obstructions to thoroughfares, and other offences punishable under sec-

[100(a)] 1852: 40,113 cases.
1853: 50,563 „
1854: 59,848 „
1855: 61,829 „

[101] Foreign Miscellaneous Deptt. S. No. 157, No. in the list 365, para 3.

[102] *PAR* (1856-57 and 57-58), para 3.

[103] R. Simson, Esq. Secy. to Govt. of India with the Governor General to R. H. Davies, Esq. Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab and its Dependencies, dated Allahabad the 21, January, 1859.

[104] *PAR* (1859-60), para 2.

[105] Foreign Misc. Department, S. No. 157, No. in the list, 363, para 207.

tion 34 of the Police Act of 1861. In the next place, the tendency of legislation at that time was to create new offences. The Stamp Act may be taken as an instance. Before the year 1860, prosecutions for the breach of the Stamp Law were unknown in the Punjab. In that year Act XXXVII of 1860 was passed and the Punjab was brought under the Stamp Law which was already in force in the Regulation Provinces. Prosecutions for breaches of the Act now increased in frequency. Another reason was the increased facility which was afforded at that time for instituting such prosecutions. Before the year 1860 prosecutions for these offences commenced by a petition written on a stamp paper of the value of eight annas. But under the provisions of the Stamp Act which was passed in 1860, the complainants were relieved of this charge and allowed to present their petitions on plain paper. Formerly also, in this class of cases the complainants were required to defray the cost of dieting and procuring the attendance of witnesses but in 1862 they were relieved of this charge also.[106]

It seems necessary to throw some light on the working of the courts during the Mutiny. The courts at that time were closed down for months and every judicial officer was pre-occupied with pressing duties concerning the public safety. It was after the fall of Delhi in September 1857 that officers resumed their judicial duties.[107] Notwithstanding the interregnum of five months during the year of revolt there was more civil business done than in the previous year of peace.[108] The despatch of criminal business, however, was just as prompt and regular as in peaceful times. It is interesting to note there was rather a diminution in petty and violent crime during the period as compared with the previous

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[106] *PAR* (1866-67) para 45.

[107] Foreign Miscellaneous Department, S. No. 157, No. in the list, 365, para 4.

[108] (a) No. of suits instituted:

1856	..	10,088
1857	..	16,132

(b) Appeals to Superior Courts.

1856	..	493
1857	..	686

Foreign Misc. Deptt. S. No. 157, No. in the list, 365, para 4.

year.[109] From these facts we can easily infer that during the Mutiny the judicial system was not disturbed in the Punjab. In the older Provinces, however, the elaborate and technical judicial system drove many people into rebellion.[110]

From what has been said above it is not difficult for us to conclude that the people of the Punjab evinced a readier disposition to refer their quarrels to the authorized tribunals. This was encouraging and showed that the people had confidence in the court.[111] The judicial administration thus became very popular and justice was brought near to the peasant's door by means of *Tahsildari* Courts. These courts disposed of more than half of the judicial business. The Punjab Code with its brief laws and simple procedure remained in full force all these years.[112] Small Cause Courts which were established in 1860, however, worked under the Code of Civil Procedure.

Period II

During this period the work of the civil courts considerably increased. This was the result of the transfer of suits regarding land to the civil side of the courts under the operation of Act XIX of 1865,[113] and the increase in wealth in the Punjab.[114] In 1868 the Punjab Government drew the attention of the Government of India to the great increase in judicial work during the previous years and the inadequacy of the existing judicial agency which was framed by Mr. Cust in 1862 at as low a scale as was compatible with efficiency. But between the year 1862 and the year 1868 the number of civil suits decided increased from 99,852 to 151,827, the number of criminal cases from 34,600 to 52,760, and the num-

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[109] No. of Cases brought before the courts:

	June	July	August	Sept.
1856	2,953	3,349	2,784	2,419
1857	2,470	2,327	1,808	1,851

[110] G. C. Barnes, Esq., Commissioner and Superintendent, Cis-Sutlej States to R. H. Davies, Esq. Secy. to the Punjab Govt. and its Dependencies, dated 31st August, 1859, Foreign Procdg. No. 101, dated 11th Nov. 1859, Foreign Procdg. No. 101, dated 11th Nov. 1859.

[111] Foreign Miscellaneous Department, S. No. 157, No. in the list, 364, para 6.

[112] Foreign Miscellaneous Department, S. No. 157, No. in the list, 365, para 3.

[113] *PAR* (1865-66), para 1.

[114] *PAR* (1866-67), para 5.

ber of miscellaneous cases from 60,161 to 88,846. It was pointed out that the work could not be continued and performed with the same despatch and that its quality would not improve, unless the judicial staff was increased considerably above its existing strength. On account of the inadequacy of the staff, the officers of Government could not properly attend to the important executive duties of their offices.[115]

In the earlier days of the administration, executive business was not so heavy as at this time; civil suits were far less numerous; procedure was less elaborate, and Pleaders were almost unknown. The judicial business did not usurp much time of the officers of the Punjab. But now there was a great increase of executive business, an enormous increase of litigation, and a great elaboration of the judicial system. In civil suits the Code of Civil Procedure was followed. Issues were carefully drawn and a memorandum of the substance of evidence was recorded by the officer trying the case. Session's cases were no longer disposed of on perusal of the record but a regular trial was held. Lastly, all the courts worked under the vigilant eye of the Judges of the Chief Court, who paid more attention to procedure and bestowed greater care on the dispensation of judicial business than had been the case in the days of the Judicial Commissioner. It stands to reason, therefore, that the agency which was barely sufficient to discharge the combined judicial and executive duties of the Punjab in 1862 was utterly inadequate to perform satisfactorily the same functions in 1869.[116]

A further proof of the inadequacy of the judicial establishment will be apparent from a comparison of the statistics of the North Western Provinces and the Punjab. In the North Western Provinces in 1867, the *Moonsiffs* who were purely judicial officers disposed of nearly 360 civil suits annually, on an average. In the Punjab in 1868, every *Tahsildar*, on an average disposed of 423 civil suits, in addition to criminal cases and also performed the multifarious duties appertaining to a Sub-Collector of Revenue.[117]

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[115] T. H. Thornton, Esq., Secy. to the Govt. to the Punjab to E. C. Bayley, Esq. Secy. to the Govt. of India, Home Judicial Procdgs. Nos. 42-54, dated 24th December, 1870.

[116] T. H. Thornton, Esq. Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab to E. C. Bayley, Esq. Secy. to the Govt. of India, Home Judicial Procdgs. Nos. 42-54, dated 24th December, 1870.

Again, in the North Western Provinces in 1867 District Judges disposed of 639 civil suits and appeals on an average. In the Punjab in 1868 the Commissioners of Divisions disposed of, on an average, 583 civil appeals, in addition to performing the duties of Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit, from which the Judges of the North Western Provinces were altogether relieved. Yet in the case of the two Provinces, the disposal of civil and criminal cases was regulated by the same law of procedure.[118]

It follows, therefore, that the work of the Punjab officials, executive and judicial, suffered, especially the judicial work. It was therefore necessary to provide some means for relieving the officers of the increasing pressure of judicial work, or else the administration of the Punjab and the development of its revenues and resources would be seriously neglected. The Judges of the Chief Court proposed to provide some increase of staff out of the surplus *tulubana* income amounting to nearly 2,00,000 rupees *per annum.* The Supreme Government declined to sanction expenditure from the surplus *tulubana* fund. Most stringent injunctions were issued to the Punjab Government to avoid submitting proposals involving *increase* of existing expenditure.[119]

These facts established conclusively that the two branches of the service ought to be separated. The Government of India therefore preferred the introduction, into the Punjab, of a system similar to that which prevailed in Bengal and the North Western Provinces.[120] A scheme was accordingly prepared in 1870 on these lines and the opinion of the Punjab Government was sought on this question. The Punjab Government replied that it was not desirable to effect a complete separation between the judicial and executive duties of officers. It was feared that if this was done the popularity of the Non-Regulation System would be

[117] *Idem.*
[118] *Idem.*
[119] *Idem.*
[120] A. O. Hume, Esq., Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India, to the Secy: to the Govt. of Punjab, dated, Fort William the 23rd December, 1870. Home Judl. Proceeding Nos. 42-54, dated 24th December, 1870.

injured.[121] The following arguments were given by the Punjab Government in support of their view:

First: The litigation of the Punjab was, for the most part, of a very simple character. No special trained agency was necessary for the disposal of cases.

Second: The civil servants received sufficient legal training. Their efficiency as judicial officers was better secured by *not* dissociating them from the executive and revenue branches of the administration. The experience derived from the working of the Small Cause Courts in the Punjab showed that the employment of young officers in purely judicial posts had a tendency to make them more technical than considerate. On the other hand, the withdrawal of the revenue and magisterial officers of Government from all connection with the administration of civil justice would deprive them of the opportunity to be acquainted with the social progress of the people and the practical effects of the revenue and administrative reforms.

Third: Again, the employment of officers in separate departments would make it more difficult for the Punjab Government to avail themselves of the services of some of their most experienced officers for executive duties in emergencies.

Fourth: The officer in administrative charge of a District would pay more attention to the working of the Civil Courts in his District and get more opportunity to acquaint himself with the problems of the people while touring in his District, than a Judge with purely judicial functions.

Fifth: There were many Districts in which the constant pressure of judicial work upon the Deputy Commissioner was such as to interfere very seriously with the proper discharge of his executive functions. At the same time, there were many *Tahsils* in which the *Tahsildar's* attention was much distracted from the revenue duties for which he was primarily appointed. There were other Districts and *Tahsils* in which the judicial work was not so heavy as to render necessary the appointment of a special officer for judicial work, and if a complete separation were decided on, it would be necessary to make separate provision for the civil judicial work of the latter as well as the former.

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[121] Sir Richard Temple on Punjab Govt. Scheme for strengthening the Administrative Services, Home Judl. Procdg. Nos. 128-46, dated June, 1875.

Lastly: The frontier Districts were excluded from the scheme formulated by the Government of India for the separation of executive and judicial work, although the pressure of judicial work was quite as much felt there as in the Cis-Indus districts.[122]

On these grounds the Punjab Government represented that the reform of the judicial administration should take the direction rather of increasing the strength of the existing establishments than of completely separating the judicial service from the executive service. This course was acceptable to the Government of India.[123] A scheme to provide additional judicial agency, and thus relieve the over-worked executive officers was submitted by the Punjab Government to the Government of India in 1870. On account of financial difficulties it could not be sanctioned until the end of 1874. With its sanction in 1875 the number of Judges in the courts for the disposal of petty debts was strengthened. A Judge or *Moonsif* was attached to each Sub-District or *Tahsil* belonging to the Punjab in an area where the number of suits was large. The *Tahsildar* was thereby set free from the performance of his executive functions and also from those aspects of his judicial duties which were related to land administration. The Deputy Commissioners of 32 Districts were relieved of undue pressure of judicial work by the appointment of a subordinate, designated Judicial Assistant with concurrent jurisdiction, by whom the bulk of judicial cases was disposed of.[124]

This scheme, however, answered the expectations of the people. It immensely relieved the Deputy Commissioners and *Tahsildars* of desk-work and thereby greatly strengthened the executive administration. This was done without dissociating those officials from all connection with, and interest in, the judicial administration of their charges. It, at the same time, made justice more accessible to the poorer classes of suitors, and opened out a career for a large number of people of the Punjab.[125]

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[122] D. G. Barkley, Esq., Assistant Commissioner on Special Duty to T. H. Thornton, Secy. to the Govt. of Punjab, dated, Lahore, the 11th March, 1873. Home Judicial Proceeding No. 128-46, dated July, 1875.

[123] Arthur Howell, Esq., Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India, Home Deptt. to the Secy. to the Govt. of Punjab, No. 396, dated 27th February 1875. Legislative Proceedings Nos. 10-21, dated July, 1875.

[124] Arthur Howell, Esq. Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India to the Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab, No. 296, dated, Fort William, the 27th February, 1875.

The judicial scheme thus suffered from the varying conditions of the Imperial Treasury in common with many other public works and measures. If portions of it were incomplete,[126] is was due to the impossibility of contracting or expanding the scheme in proportion as funds were limited or plentiful. It was, however, an immense improvement on the previous system and may justly be considered as a step towards the separation of judicial and executive functions which existed in other parts of India.[127]

A review of the developments in the administration of justice leads us to the conclusion that by 1875 the judicial system of the Punjab was placed upon a sound basis. The rough and ready system of Ranjit Singh was completely changed and harsh punishments like mutilation which might be regarded as a continuation of the Muslim system of justice were abolished and replaced by soft ones. Upto the year 1866 the rules relating to Pleaders, arbitration, serving of processes, execution of decrees and the system of registration were governed by the Punjab Civil Code and were quite simple. But after 1866 the judicial machinery was entirely modified. The Code of Civil Procedure for India and the Indian Penal Code were introduced into the Punjab and the system of judicial administration was brought in line with that of Bengal and the North Western Provinces. The Punjab had now a well-organized system of courts and a uniform system of law and procedure. The main requisites of justice—impartiality, promptness, accessibility and effectiveness—were, to a considerable extent, found in the judicial system of the Punjab. On the whole the system had become fairly popular and the people availed themselves of the facilities provided by the Government.

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[125] *PAR* (1874-75), General Summary.

[126] The Scheme as originally submitted to the Government of India provided also for relieving the Commissioners of Divisions from the pressure of judicial business which interfered with the proper discharge of their important administrative duties. This portion of the scheme was not sanctioned by the Government of India.

[127] *PAR* (1875-76), para 37.

Lytton's "Great Tomasha" and Indian Unity*

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In most versions of the origins of the Indian nationalist movement the role assigned to Lord Lytton's Viceroyalty has been negative. The accepted interpretation, as put forth by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the official chronicler of the Indian National Congress, is that the period was one in which repression combined with economic suffering produced rapid increases of discontent at all levels of society.[1] This view largely followed that which Wedderburn had suggested in his biography of Hume some twenty years earlier,[2] and is one which has remained in currency until the present. In 1960, for example, Dr. N. S. Bose emphasised that the reactionary and repressive aspects of Lytton's Viceroyalty were crucial in promoting the development of Bengali political consciousness.[3] whilst in 1965 Dr. V. C. P. Chaudhury reiterated the argument and extended it by maintaining that through the utilisation of public meetings and the submission of memorials protesting against these measures "the method of constitutional agitation was born during this period".[4]

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* Much of the research for this article was undertaken when I was a Government of India Research Fellow at the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, St. Xavier's College, Bombay University. I wish to express my gratitude to my then supervisor, Professor William Coelho and also to Miss M. Jacobs of Sydney University for her comments on a draft of this article.

[1] B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *The History of the Indian National Congress* (1885-1935). (Madras, 1935), pp. 10-11.

[2] W. Wedderburn, Allan Octovian Hume, C. B. *"Father of the Indian National Congress"* 1829 to 1912 (London, 1913), p. 50.

[3] N. S. Bose, *The Indian Awakening and Bengal* (Calcutta, 1960), pp. 178-179.

[4] V. C. P. Chaudhury, "Lytton's Indian Administration and the Birth of Nationalism," *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, IV, 3 (1964-65), 133.

This paper is not an apologia for Lytton but its intent is to re-examine this "axiom" regarding the impact of his administration upon the development of nationalist feeling in India. Did in fact a causal relationship exist between the unpopularity of his measures and the initiation and extension of new techniques of constitutional agitation and of a new concept of India-wide unity?

By examining the complex of events surrounding the Imperial Assemblage in Delhi in the last days of 1876 and the first days of 1877 it is intended to demonstrate that the most significant developments in Indian public consciousness occurred when the popular attitude to Lytton was favourable rather than antagonistic. The character of the Assemblage and the recognition given to various segments of Indian society created a hospitable atmosphere which hastened or broadened trends already in evidence.

The initial Indian attitude to Lytton requires clarification; he left India as possibly its most unpopular Viceroy, yet this hostility was not his invariable lot in the early period of his administration. The measures which are usually classified as repressive or reactionary were enacted only in the second half of his term as were his other unpopular policies such as the Afghan War and the abolition of cotton duties. Even the hardships created by the famine of 1876-1877 came to be felt fully only in the summer of 1877.[5] It was only after the middle of 1877 that Lytton's unpopularity began to assume significant proportions; and only after the beginning of 1878 and the passing of the Vernacular Press Act the attitude became fixed. Contemporary evidence from Western India supports this view: in the first two years of his term of office, Indians were still undecided as to how to judge their semi-Bohemian literary Viceroy. They were waiting to see how sound his judgment was and where his sympathies lay and, initially, they were carried away by the sonorous phrases of his speeches and by his apparent desire to please all sections of the Indian community. His speeches in 1876 to commercial and trading bodies of Bombay and Calcutta seemed to indicate that he had taken to heart their interests whilst the anti-racist stance adopted in the

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[5] Lytton arrived in India in April 1876; the Arms Act and the Vernacular Press Act were passed on 14 March 1878; Cotton Duties were abolished in March 1879 and the Second Afghan War commenced in November 1878.

Fuller Case in June and July of 1876 gained him considerable support. Certainly in the first two years of his Viceroyalty the arbiter of opinion amongst the Indian educated, lower official and even at times peasant groups in Western India, the *Poona Sarvajanik Sabha*, was not hostile; there was amused toleration and even qualified approval but certainly not the intense dislike and vituperation which later developed.[6]

The Imperial Assemblage at Delhi in January 1877 at which Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India marked the zenith of the Viceroy's popularity. Not only did the occasion provoke great enthusiasm but it also earned for Lytton praise for his urbane and suave handling of the ceremony.[7] The loyalty evinced at the time was considerable and wide-reaching; a contemporary Bengali journalist noted that "while Englishmen were wrangling about the propriety of calling their Queen Empress... the people of India, from the Himalayas to the Comorin, from the Brahmaputra to the Indus, assembled by their tens of thousands in the capital cities of their provinces and districts to exchange congratulations and compliments, and to invoke the blessing of God on the new relationship which it had pleased Her Majesty to assume".[8] Addresses and other expressions of loyalty were adopted and presented to the Viceroy at the Assemblage for transmission to the Queen. Although they often had a sting in their tail by way of requests for redress of specific grievances or the grant of concessions their tone was invariably that of enthusiasm and loyalty. Amongst the multitude presented may be cited Bombay City's two separate memorials from its Parsi and Hindu communities and that of the *Poona Sarvajanik Sabha* presented on behalf of the inhabitants of Poona and other parts of the Deccan.[9]

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[6] M. G. Ranade,(?) "The Viceroyalty of Lord Lytton," *The Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha*, III, 1 (July 1880), 36-37;

Lytton's speeches to the Calcutta Trades Association and the Bombay Chamber of Commerce shortly after his arrival in India in 1876 in Robert D. Osborn, "India Under Lord Lytton," *The Contemporary Review*, XXXVI (December 1879), 570.

[7] Cf. Summary of the reactions of the Bombay Presidency Vernacular Press to the Assemblage in *Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency for the Year* 1876-1877, p. 408.

[8] Speech of Surendranath Banerjea, 17 Apr. 1878 in Ram Chandra Palit (ed.), *Speeches of Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea*, 1876-80 (Calcutta, 1885), [1], 128.

One of the elements of this enthusiasm lay in the pomp and pageantry of the Assemblage. "Our great Tomasha", as Lytton remarked somewhat wryly to John Morley,[10] was the first such event since the days of the Mughals; it was a unique occasion embodying the combined grandeur of the British Raj and of the subordinate Princes. Amongst large sections of the population the mere idea of such an event provoked much excitement and in many cases a burning desire to be present. Even in subsequent bitter criticisms of Lytton's administration there is an underlying, grudging admission of the effectiveness of the display.[11]

It would however be inaccurate to maintain that this enthusiasm was unanimous: strong criticism was being expressed in the vernacular press of Bombay and Bengal against this pageantry and against its expense as early as October 1876 when it had become apparent that a serious famine was developing in Western and Southern India. In these circumstances, the *Durbar* seemed wasteful, inopportune and extravagant. Official statements that it would cost merely a quarter of the rumoured estimates of half a million pounds sterling and that strict economy was being exercised in mounting the spectacle mollified such criticism, but only partly. It still continued *sotto voce* during the *Durbar* and intensified in direct proportion to the increasing severity of the famine during the summer of 1877. By the time of Lytton's departure the cost of the *Durbar* had become inextricably connected with the trenchant criticisms of his famine policy.[12]

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[9] For accounts of the two Bombay meetings, 10 Dec. 1876, cf. *Native Opinion*, an Anglo-Marathi Bombay weekly, 17 Dec. 1876, pp. 801-802; for Address of the Poona *Sarvajanik Sabha* cf. *ibid.*, 10 Dec. 1876, p. 788.

[10] Lytton to John Morley, Calcutta, 19 Jan. 1877 in Betty Balfour, *Personal and Literary Letters of Robert First Earl of Lytton*, (London, 1906), II, p. 55.

[11] Cf. Lytton's description of the Assemblage in his letter to Queen Victoria written at Delhi, Patiala, Ambala, Aligarh, and Agra between 23 Dec. 1876 and 10 Jan. 1877 in *ibid.*, pp. 41-45. Also cf. Betty Balfour, *The History of Lord Lytton's Indian Administration*, 1876 to 1880; compiled from *Letters and Official Papers* (London 1899), Chapt. IV. The official version is J. Talboys Wheeler, *The History of the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi, held on the 1st January*, 1877 *to celebrate the assumption of the title of Empress of India by Her Majesty the Queen. Including Historical Sketches of India and her princes past and present* (London, n.d.c. 1877). The Calcutta Correspondent of *The Times* provides a non-official eye-witness English account, *The Times*, 1, Jan. 1877, p. 5 and 2 Jan. 1877, p. 5 whilst a Parsi lady who attended the Assemblage contrary to current convention in her community against women travelling provides an Indian version, Dosebai Cowasjee Jessawalla, The Story of My Life (Bombay, 1911), Chapters XIV and XV.

Counterweighing such financial criticisms was the widespread feeling that the Assemblage could not merely be an occasion for pomp. During and after the passage of the Royal Titles Bill in March and April of 1876, a sense of expectation had arisen in Western India that Disraeli perhaps intended in the near future to grant some form of representation to Indian opinion.[13] Since the *Durbar* was the obvious place in which to make some such momentous concession, the expectation developed into confident certainty that an announcement would be made then. Similar feelings also existed amongst the Princes and Chieftains that significant changes in their rights and status would likewise be granted them at the *Durbar*.[14]

These expectations contrasted with the British view of the *raison d'être* of the Proclamation and the Assemblage. Although Queen Victoria's vanity was titillated by her new title, its purpose was, as *The Times* pointed out in October 1876, "simply a necessity of administration".[15] It provided a personal symbol, that of the reigning monarch, for the abstract fact of British sovereignty. The intention behind the Imperial Assemblage was to bind the people and Princes of India together in common and personal loyalty to the Crown, perhaps to give them a sense of belonging to the same nation, and hence to consolidate and popularise British rule.[16] Yet the feeling of expectation survived and in one way the Assemblage did break new ground.

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[12] *The Times*, 23 Oct. 1876, p. 5; 30 Oct. 1876, p. 5; 13 Nov. 1876, p. 5; [M. G. Ranade?], "The Viceroyalty of Lord Lytton," *op.cit.*, p. 37.

[13] *The Times of India*, (a Bombay English Daily,) 22 March 1876, p. 3.

[14] *Reports on Native Papers in Bombay Presidency* for March, November and December 1876. Cf. also extracts from these Reports cited in Government of Bombay, *Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India (Collected from Bombay Government Records)*, Vol. I, 1818-1885, (Bombay, 1957), pp. 365-366.

[15] *The Times*, 7 Oct. 1876, p. 8.

[16] Lord George Hamilton, *Parliamentary Reminiscences and Reflections, 1868-1885* (London, 1917), p. 104; J. Talboys Wheeler, *The History of the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi*, p. 46; "The Princes and the Proclamation of

Lytton was most concerned that all sections of Indian society be represented at the *Durbar* and issued invitations accordingly, invitations which could be nothing but flattering to their recipients. All the estates of the realm were present: not only was this the case with the Princes and Chieftains whom he was especially anxious to reward for their enthusiastic reception to the Prince of Wales the preceding year and to demonstrate his acceptance of their role as powerful and important pillars of the Empire but also with the vernacular press and with Indians prominent in public life. The Viceregal recognition of the press was a novel feature which established for the first time official acceptance of its role within Indian life. The seal to this recognition was given when Lytton personally accepted an address from the press as a body.[17]

It was against the background of the *Durbar*, against the extravagant displays of loyalty to the Crown and, on the whole, support for the Viceroy that the first cohesion of the various strands of public awareness and of embryonic nationalism occurred. It was not the product either of Lytton's anti-liberal measures or of his unpopular policies since both still lay in the future but it was evoked instead by the Assemblage and the atmosphere which surrounded it. In emphasising the idea of the fusion of the Indian people under one Crown the British made current and acceptable an idea of Indian unity; by bringing together at the *Durbar* a wide cross-section of Indian society from all parts of the country they

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the Empire", *The Quarterly Review*, Vol. 145, No. 290 (Apr. 1878), p. 439; G. E. Buckle and W. F. Monypenny, *The Life of Benjamin Disraeli Earl of Beaconsfield*, Vol. V, 1868-1876, (London, 1920), pp. 456-8, 462-470, 486-7.

[17] 68,000 were invited and attended the Assemblage: these included the leader of every government in India; 1200 civil servants; 14000 British and Indian troops; 77 ruling chiefs and Princes and 300 other noblemen and gentlemen. Cf. B. Balfour, *Lord Lytton's Indian Administration*, p. 110. Cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 108-109, 114; *The Times*, 7 Oct. 1876, p. 8; *ibid.*, 21 Nov. 1876, p. 10; J. Talboys Wheeler, *The Imperial Assemblage*, p. 123; Address of Native Press Association to Viceroy, 27 Dec. 1876, in *Native Opinion*, 14 Jan. 1877, pp. 25-26. Speech of Kristo Das Pal to the Trades' Association, Calcutta, 29 Jan. 1878 in R. C. Palit (ed.), *Speeches and Minutes of the Honourable Kristo Das Pal, Rai Bahadur, C.I.E.*, 1867-81, (Calcutta, 1882), pp. 309-10.

provided an opportunity for those attending to realize that such an idea could be reality. It should be re-emphasised that such a gathering was unique: occasional visits of individuals from one side of the country to the other had previously taken place on a minute and sporadic scale but fraternisation in the range and quality which occurred at the *Durbar* had never been possible during the British period. For the first time *Princes* from one region met Princes from another region; leaders of public opinion in Bengal met leaders of public opinion from Western India.[18]

Not overlooked by leading Indian opinion were the possibilities inherent in this situation for taking specific steps towards achieving, in the first instance, a sense of unity amongst the people of the country and, secondly, the establishment of organizations embracing, at an India-wide level, various local bodies and movements.

The first practical steps towards emotional unity seem to have been made by a Western Indian public association, the *Poona Sarvajanik Sabha,* immediately prior to the Assemblage. With the Bombay Association, based on Bombay City, in its death throes after the secession of many of its most influential members, the *Poona Sarvajanik Sabha* or "Popular Assembly" was the most active organization in the region. It was led in public by its founder, Ganesh Wassoodeo Joshi, or, as he was affectionately known, *Sarvajanik Kaka* ("The people's Uncle"); real decision making however seems to have vested in M. G. Ranade, a First Class First Grade Subordinate Judge in Poona, who exerted from behind the scenes potent, if shadowy, influence. By caste, both were Chitpavan Brahmin, a caste which preponderated in the *Sabha's* membership lists and which had exercised power in the Maratha Confederacy prior to the establishment of British rule. Since its foundation in

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[18] J. Talboys Wheeler, *The Imperial Assemblage,* pp. 45, 68-69. Cf. also the claim made by Judge Gopal Hari Deshmukh in a speech at Thana in 1877 that "this country as a united whole has become much stronger after the Queen's Assumption of the title of Empress than it was before," *Journal of the National Indian Association in Aid of Social Progress in India,* Nov. 1877, pp. 308-309. By his writings in the Marathi Press under the pseudonym of *Lokhitwadi* or "Advocate of The People's Good", Deshmukh had early in life established a significant reputation as an incisive critic and commentator on social and political issues; he was in the 1870's an important spokesman of educated and upper class opinion in Western India.

1870, the *Sabha* had developed a network of subordinate *Sarvajanik Sabhas* throughout most of Maharashtra by which to propagate its views and organise movements against the policies of the Government where necessary. As a result of its suspected activities amongst the Deccan peasants it earned for itself a reputation for sedition, a reputation enhanced in the six months after the *Durbar* when it was involved in a strike of agricultural labourers at Sholapur described at the time as "virtually.... a passive resistance".[19] Despite its reputation the *Sabha* had sent a delegation to the *Durbar* and had been allowed by the Viceroy to present an address to him for transmission to the Queen.[20]

Although the fact that Joshi wore Khadi or handspun cloth at the time of the presentation was to become enshrined as one of the anecdotal curiosities of the freedom movement the contents of the Address itself were not of overgreat significance. They reiterated the *Sabha's* loyalty, requested that the ruling Princes be given greater powers and that the entrance regulations for the Indian Civil Service be modified.[21] However the circumstances surrounding the Address are of more intrinsic interest: it represented the views of much educated opinion in mofussil Maharashtra being signed by, and presented on behalf of, the inhabitants of Poona and other parts of the Deccan. Through its circulation to "some

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[19] R. Temple. "The Famine of 1876 and 1877 in the Bombay Presidency. Minute", *The Famine of 1876 and 1877 in the Bombay Presidency. Notes on the General Policy of the Government and on the Progress of the Measures adopted to Relieve the Distress caused by the Famine in the Deccan and Southern Maratha Country,* (printed pamphlet, n.p., n.d.) bound in the Bombay Secretariat Record Office Political Department file, Vol. 41, 1878, pp. 10-11; for the seditious character of the Sabha cf. "Note by the Honourable Mr. Ashburner, — dated the 7th February 1878", enclosure to Letter of E. W. Ravenscroft, Chief Secretary to Govt. of Bombay, to Offg. Sec. to Govt. of India, 6 Mar. 1878 in *Government of India Home Dept., Judicial Br.*, 1878, Apr. 211-235 A. in the National Archives of India, New Delhi. For a more detailed discussion of the character and early activities of the *Poona Sarvajanik Sabha* cf. the writer's unpublished Bombay University Ph.D. Thesis *Liberal Consciousness, Leadership and Political Organization in Bombay and Poona*: 1867-1895. Chapts. III, IV and VI, and R. Kumar, "The Deccan Riots of 1875", *The Journal of Asian Studies*, XXIV, 4 (Aug. 1965), 627-631.

[20] *Native Opinion*, 31 Dec. 1876, p. 814.

[21] *Ibid.*, 10 Dec. 1876, p. 787 cf. also Bombay State Committee for a History of the Freedom Movement, *File M:N* (typescript), p. 89.

Princes, Chiefs, Sirdars and gentlemen invited to the Durbar" and through the accompanying request to sign it and also obtain the signatures of the inhabitants of the areas under their sway, the *Sabha* hoped to make it "a united address from all India".[22]

Previously the *Sabha* had been almost exclusively concerned with economic problems and with local issues affecting Bombay Presidency. The *Durbar* provided the opportunity for it to take the first steps towards "that fusion of races and creeds, the second birth of that Great Indian nation, for which we have all so long prayed, and dreamed, and which has been so wonderfully brought about by Providence through strange agencies".[23] The proposed united address was to be one way of demonstrating that the process had begun. At the same time, the *Sabha* hoped that the Princes would make the best use of the opportunity provided by the Assemblage for them to meet one another, remove such misunderstandings as might have existed among them and discuss their current position. The Princes could play a grand role in the affairs of the country and this gathering of their number, the *Sabha* believed, constituted "the great Notables of the land, the first Parliament of the united Indian nation, the first Congress of the representatives of the diverse states and nationalities which make up the body politic of India".[24] In more prosaic terms, the *Sabha* desired the creation of a Council of Princes to whom certain issues regarding the Princely States and their frontiers might be referred. Such a Council was not far removed from that which Lytton was concurrently, and unsuccessfully, trying to persuade the India Council to allow him to establish.[25]

Part of the *Sabha's* sympathy with these rulers lay in the close ties which existed between it and the Maratha Chieftains and Princes. The Chief of Audh, a leading Brahmin Jagirdar of Satara district, had inaugurated the *Sabha* and was its President in 1877; seven of the eight Vice-Presidents were Maratha Chiefs;

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[22] Letter of Sudasheo Bullal Govandye and Ganesh Wassoodeo Joshi, PSS, to some Princes, Chiefs, Sirdars and gentlemen invited to the Durbar, 5. Dec. 1876, reprinted in *Native Opinion,* 10 Dec. 1876, 787-788.

[23] *Ibid.,* p. 787.

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] S. Gopal, *British Policy in India,* 1858-1905, (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 114-116; B. Balfour, *Lord Lytton's Indian Administration,* p. 111.

some of its funds came from these Chiefs whilst more was suspected as originating from Maratha Princes like Baroda and Indore.[26] The *Sabha* had demonstrated its concern in the affairs of the Native States through its sympathy for the Gaikwad of Baroda at his deposition in 1875 and through the consistent appearance of articles relating to the States in its Quarterly Journal.[27] Conversely, the Princes of the former Maratha Confederacy had retained an interest in the problems of the Maratha peoples in regions now under direct British rule and during the famine of 1876-1877 Scindia, Holkar and the Gaikwad, to say nothing of the smaller Chiefs and Jagirdars of the Southern Maratha country, made considerable donations towards relieving famine distress. Scindia spent more on famine relief in the Deccan than did the British Government.[28]

The Princely States possessed a general significance for the *Sabha* in that their administration was conducted by Indians subject to the general supervision of the British as Paramount Power. Where the administration was capable, the States provided excellent examples of the ability of Indians to manage their own affairs; where it was bad they could provide testing grounds for the application of ideas suggested by the *Sabha*. These ideas for the better government of the Princely States were inspired by British modes of government but while it was envisaged that liberal institutions should be established, it was also envisaged that these should be reinforced by indigenous institutions such as the aristocracy and the *panchayat* system.[29]

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[26] V. M. Potdar, "The History of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha", *The Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha* [hereafter J. PSS] Apr. 1920; "List of Officers", *Ibid.*, II, 1, facing p. 61; "Note by the Honourable Mr. Ashburner, — dated the 7th February 1878", *op.cit.*

[27] *Reports on Native Papers in Bombay Presidency*, 27 Mar. 1875, pp. 5-7; *ibid.*, 13 Mar. 1875, pp. 7-8; *ibid.*, 15 Apr. 1875, p. 6, *ibid.*, 1 May 1875, pp. 4-9; *ibid.*, 8 May 1875, pp. 4-6. *JPSS*, I, 4, pp. 68-72; *ibid.*, II, 3, pp. 1-17, 45-47, 55-58; *ibid.*, II, 4, pp. 62-66.

[28] W. Digby, *The Famine Campaign in Southern India, (Madras and Bombay Presidencies and Province of Mysore)* 1876-1878, (London, 1878), II, p. 26; [M. G. Ranade?], "Famine Administration in Bombay Presidency", *JPSS*, I, 1, p. 15.

[29] Cf. *inter alia*, *J P S S*, II, 2, p. 71; *ibid.*, II, 3, pp. 56-57. For an analysis in general terms of Indian attitudes to the Princely States, cf. R. Temple, *India in* 1880 (London, 1880), pp. 62-65.

Yet it was not only as an example to those in British India of what an indigenous agency could achieve that the *Sabha* considered to be the value of the States. Gwalior, Indore and Baroda were the last remnants of the Maratha Confederacy whose fallen greatness was remembered and lamented in the contemporary vernacular press.[30] When the *Sabha* appealed to the Princes, Jagirdars and Chieftains in its letter immediately prior to the *Durbar,* its phraseology implied that the Princes could assume a status under the aegis of the British similar to that which they had held previously under the Peshwas. The admittedly biased Governor of Bombay, Sir Richard Temple, was three years later to observe that some Konkanust or Chitpavan Brahmins thought that they could manage India quite well without the British and could organize States and Confederacies as well as they had some one hundred and fifty years previously. It was an accepted fact in Bombay Government circles that Ranade was an ardent Indian Home Ruler.[31] How far these suspicions were accurate reflections of reality is now difficult to determine, yet in view of Maratha sentiment towards their former glory it seems likely that such views, possibly vague and ill-defined, were current at the time.

Thus the *Sabha* as the first step in a much grander scheme utilised the *Durbar* as a means of achieving unity and amity among the indigenous aristocracy of the country. Its leading representative, Ganesh Wassoodeo Joshi, even went so far at the

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[30] *Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency for the year* 1877-1878, p. 426.

[31] R. Temple to Lytton, 9th July 1879, reprinted in G.R.G. Hambly, "Mahratta Nationalism before Tilak. Two unpublished Letters of Sir Richard Temple on the State of the Bombay Deccan, 1879", *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society,* XLIX, 2 (April 1962), 157; M. R. Westropp to Hart, 4 Jun. 1880. Minutes of E. W. Ravenscroft, 11 Jul. 1880 and 24 Jul. 1880. Minute of the Governor of Bombay, Sir James Fergusson, 23 July 1880 in Bombay Secretariat Record Office, Judicial Dept. Vol. 795, 1880. (I am grateful to Shri B. N. Phatak of the Government of Maharashtra's History of the Freedom Movement Office for bringing this file to my attention). The Calcutta correspondent of *The Times* was not above implying that Scindia contemplated an armed uprising against the British raj, *The Times,* 7 Jan. 1878, p. 5.

Durbar as to call a special meeting of the Princes and to press this view even further on their attention.[32]

At three other levels of public activity, those of social reform, the press and public associations, attempts were also made during or immediately after the *Durbar* to develop some form of unity among their exponents in the different Presidencies. The objective was to create formal, India-wide organisations, which could undertake large-scale planning and consolidation of regional efforts.

Probably the most abortive of these attempts was that regarding social reform. The initiator of the scheme and, in the last analysis, the cause of its failure was Dayananda Saraswati, the neo-religious revivalist and social reformer who had founded the *Arya Samaj* in 1875 as a vehicle with which to propagate his doctrine of the infallibility and primacy of the *Vedas*. As a guest of one of the Princes, Dayananda Saraswati was present at the *Durbar* and during its course he convened what was described as a "peculiar meeting".[33] It was a conference to establish a bond of union among social reformers throughout the country based on the formulation of a set of doctrines acceptable to a wide range of opinion. According to the same source the meeting was limited to Hindu reformers only, although subsequent commentators have maintained that the Muslim leader, Sayyid Ahmad Khan, was present as well as others from the Hindu reformist fold such as the *Brahmo Samaj* leader, Keshub Chunder Sen, and Harischandra Chintaman, President of the *Bombay Arya Samaj*. From the limited evidence available, it would seem that this attempt at bringing about an all-India movement for religious and social regeneration foundered upon Dayananda's insistence that the *Vedas* should be accepted as the only basis for the movement. Obviously such a view would prove inacceptable both to Muslims and to many Hindu reformers themselves who accepted texts other than the *Vedas* as their source for inspiration.[34]

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[32] Bombay State Committee for a History of the Freedom Movement, *File M:N*, p. 89.

[33] *Bombay Gazette* item reprinted in *Native Opinion*, 21 Jan. 1877, p. 44.

[34] *Indian Mirror* item reprinted in *ibid.*; Lajpat Rai. *The Arya Samaj. An Account of its Origin, Doctrines, and Activities, with a Biographical Sketch of the Founder* (London, 1915), pp. 105-6; Sri Ram Sharma, *Mahatma Hansraj*

Of greater significance was the formation of a Native Press Association by the twenty-five representatives of the vernacular press invited to the *Durbar*. While the majority of these representatives were from Bengal or Bombay Presidency, North Indian cities such as Lahore, Agra, Lucknow, Allahabad and Benares were also represented. The new body, however, was not in the fullest sense India-wide since there were no members of the Madras vernacular press at Delhi.[35]

The Native Press Association viewed itself as "protecting the interests of the Press and of the country at large";[36] it was to convene in some central place a National Press Conference once or twice a year when the current situation would be discussed and resolutions passed and once it was firmly established it would publish a journal of English translations from the vernacular newspapers.[37] At the time of the *Durbar* however the new Association contented itself with adopting an Address thanking the Viceroy for his recognition of the vernacular press as a distinct part of the State and re-emphasising its loyalty, a loyalty in no way diminished by its criticisms of policy or administration. This latter point, the loyalty of the press, seems to have been included as a rejoinder to the rumours then current to the effect that the Government was suspicious of the tone and intent of the vernacular press.[38] These rumours seem to have been somewhat allayed by Lytton's reply that he neither doubted the loyalty of the press nor objected to fair criticism if it were not abused.[39]

Maker of the Modern Punjab (Lahore, n.d. c. 1941), p. 20; J. N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India* (New York, 1915), p. 110; D. S. Sarma, *Studies in the Renaissance of Hinduism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Benares, 1944), p. 173; C. H. Heimsath, *Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform* (Princeton, 1964), pp. 129-130.

[35] *Native Opinion*, 31 Dec. 1876, p. 841.

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] *Rast Goftar*, cited in *ibid.*, 11 Feb. 1877, p. 92.

[38] Press Association, "Address", 27 Dec. 1876, *Native Opinion*, 14 Jan. 1877, pp. 25-26; S. N. Banerjea, *A Nation in Making Being the Reminiscences of Fifty Years of Public Life* (Bombay, 1925), p. 59; R. Lethbridge, "The Vernacular Press of India: An Historical Sketch," *The Contemporary Review*, XXXVII (March, 1880), pp. 471-473.

[39] Lytton's reply to Press Association Address, *Native Opinion*, 14 Jan. 1877, p. 26 and J. Talboys Wheeler, *op.cit.*, p. 123; *Dnyan Prakash*, 11 Jan. 1877 cited in G. Birdwood, "The Native Press of India," *Journal of the Society of Arts*, XXV, No. 1270 (23 March 1877), p. 415.

Although the *Sarvajanik Sabha* was attempting to foster the idea of national unity at all levels and had its representatives at the *Durbar,* there is no evidence that it instigated the organisation. On the other hand, similar hopes for a regenerated nationality were concurrently being expressed in Calcutta. As early as April 1876, Surendranath Banerjea had suggested that representatives from the various regions of India might meet together on the basis of common sympathies in a common institution modelled on an extended version of the Hindu *Mela.* The *Mela* was a Bengali fair which had met annually since the 1860's and at which the idea of self-help had been fostered by the recitation of songs and poems, by exhibitions of Indian produce and by the popularisation of gymnastics and physical culture.[40] This proposal for an extended cultural national *mela* did not bear fruit. The idea of national unity however continued to be featured in the speeches of the day and achieved practical expression in the establishment in Calcutta of the Indian League and the Indian Association. Of these the more significant and long lasting was the Indian Association founded in 1876 with the dual aim of creating a strong body of public opinion throughout the country and uniting Indians on the basis of common political interests and aspirations.[41]

The prime mover in the Indian Association was Surendranath Banerjea, a young British-trained, ex-civil servant, educationist and journalist. Himself the Editor of the *Bengallee* which had apparently not been invited to the *Durbar,* Banerjea was in Delhi as the representative of *The Hindu Patriot,* the organ of the British India Association and, according to *The Times,* the "most influential Native newspaper".[42] Subsequently Banerjea claimed that he had organised the Press Association, a claim indirectly supported by his election to the key position of Secretary and by the election, to the major post of President, of Narendranath Sen, the Bengali Editor of the Brahmo Samajist *Indian Mirror*. Featured as committee members were the Editors of three major vernacular Bombay City journals: The Anglo-Marathi social reformist *Indu Prakash*; the Gujarati language, but by that time luke-warm reformist, Parsi paper, the *Rast Goftar* and the Hindu Gujarati *Bombay Samachar*.[43] The predominance of journals which were vehicles of social and religious reform opinion may perhaps be accounted for by their concern with the welfare of the nation as a whole, reform issues being viewed as merely aspects of a wider concept of overall regeneration of the people of India. Hence they would most readily foresee and accept the value of the Press Association.

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[40] Surendranath Banerjea, "Joseph Mazzini", an address to the Utterpara Hitakari Sabha, 2 April 1876, in R. C. Palit (ed.), *Speeches of Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea,* 1876-80, [I], p. 21; Rabindranath Tagore, *My Reminiscences* (London, 1917), p. 140; N. S. Bose, *The Indian Awakening and Bengal,* pp. 171-2; M. Cumpston, "Some early Indian Nationalists and their allies in the British Parliament, 1851-1906", *The English Historical Review,* LXXVI, 299 (Apr. 1961), p. 287.

[41] Surendranath Banerjea, "The Study of Indian History", Speech to the Young Men's Union, Calcutta, 24 Jun. 1876, in R. C. Palit (ed.), *Speeches of Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea,* [I], p. 26; The Indian Association, *The First Annual Report* 1876-77 (Calcutta, 1877); S. N. Banerjea, *A Nation in Making,* pp. 41-42.

Despite the minimal role played by the *Poona Sarvajanik Sabha* in the establishment of this new body, it was the members of the *Sabha's* deputation to the *Durbar* who were responsible for attempting to extend its scope and give it a precise political character. After the Assemblage the deputation concluded a grand tour of Upper India with a visit to Calcutta where its leader, Ganesh Wassoodeo Joshi, was the guest of Calcutta's most influential and respected man of affairs, Kristo Das Pal, the Editor of the *Hindu Patriot*, a member of the Legislative Council and spokesman and leader of India's oldest public organization, the British India Association. After discussions with Pal and the executive of the British India Association and with the Editor and Proprietor of the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*, Joshi finally proposed "that an annual conference should be held of all the representatives of Associations and *Sarvajanik Sabhas* in some important city in one of the Presidencies, for the purpose of considering the best means to be adopted for the amelioration and welfare of the natives in general".[44] The proposal having gained general support, it was decided to extend the scope of the proposed press conference by including the political associations. The conference was to meet annually, the first meeting being fixed for the following year, 1878, in Calcutta.[45] This was the first attempt to establish a national political organisation which could unite opinion scattered throughout the country and consolidate the various movements of protest against specific measures of legislation. The belief that such a body was a feasible undertaking seems to have been induced by the example provided by the *Durbar* with its wide cross-section of representatives from most parts of the country. In bringing this cross-section of opinion together an opportunity had been provided for these men to realise that they possessed common problems and common attitudes to specific policies of the Governmnt. Although this must have been realized earlier with the submission of memorials from political associations on either side of the subcontinent on the same subject, the *Durbar* provided an occasion on which common interests could be demonstrated in practical, person-to-person, terms.

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[42] *The Times*, 8 Feb. 1877, p. 4.

[43] S. N. Banerjea, *op.cit.*, p. 55; *Native Opinion*, 31 Dec. 1876, p: 841; *Rast Goftar* cited in *ibid.*, 11 Feb. 1877, p. 92; for accounts of the character of these journals cf. S. Natarajan, *A. History of the Press in India* (Bombay, 1962), pp. 85-87, 97-99, and *The Times*, 8 Feb. 1877, p. 4.

Nonetheless, this trend towards an all-India unity of public and political action did not survive even to the first meeting of the conference. Delegates from Poona, again led by Ganesh Wassoodeo Joshi, arrived in Calcutta at the beginning of 1878 armed with a list of ten subjects for discussion at the conference. These covered most of the major issues of the day: the regulations of the Indian Civil Service; income tax; a Parliamentary Commission to enquire into the Famine; the rumoured curbs on the liberty of the Press; the extension of a Permanent Land Revenue Settlement and the enlargement of the Legislative Councils by the inclusion of more non-official Indian members.[46] Hence the *Sabha* still considered the conference as being basically a gathering at the national level to discuss political issues. This was not to be the case.

First, the conference was not all-India wide in membership. Although attended by some three hundred representatives the membership was preponderantly Bengali. There was no representation from Madras Presidency, a reflection of the comparatively undeveloped state of public awareness and of the press in Madras at this time.[47]

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[44] *Bombay Gazette*, 6 Feb. 1877, p. 3.

[45] Ibid., 31 Jan. 1877; *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* cited in *ibid.*, 6 Feb. 1877; *Native Opinion*, 30 Dec. 1877, p. 826.

[46] *Native Opinion*, 30 Dec. 1877, p. 827.

Second, although the Poona delegates were warmly welcomed in Calcutta and although they put forward their ideas on what should be discussed at the conference and in fact had talks on these questions with the British India Association and the Indian Association, the issues did not reach the agenda of the Native Press and the Political Association Conference.[48] The resolutions passed at the Conference were of an organisational nature related more to press than to political matters. A Conference was to be held regularly each year, of the representatives of the press for which purpose the co-operation of the political associations should be secured. A spirit of harmony would thus be fostered amongst members of the press on questions of national policy and interest; the press should nurture feelings of loyalty to the Crown whilst the rights and liberties of the press should be vindicated by all constitutional means.[49] The latter was the only survivor of the *Poona Sabha's* issues to be taken up for discussion.

It is difficult to account adequately for the failure of the Conference to accept its foreshadowed role as a national political congress. Possibly the rumours of Lytton's suspicions of the loyalty of the press and of his desire to suppress its liberties, by creating an unfavourable atmosphere, acted as a deterrent, especially upon the elder, and somewhat conservative, British India Association. Possibly the Calcutta associations were unwilling to take part in any body in which they themselves did not have an undisputed dominant role or they were no longer convinced that a political conference could serve any useful purpose or lead to an extension of their activity. There is certainly in the British India Association's Report a feeling that the *Poona Sabha's* list of issues did not break new ground and an implication that little further would be achieved by discussing them.[50]

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[47] *Ibid.*, 14 Jan. 1878, p. 59; V. Subramaniam, "Tamil Political Journalism – The pre-Gandhian Period", *Tamil Culture*, X, 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1963), pp. 28-29.

[48] *Native Opinion*, 6 Jan. 1878, p. 11; ibid., 20 Jan. 1878, p. 43; British India Association, *The Twenty-Seventh Annual General Meeting, held at the hall of the Association on Saturday, the 7th June* 1879 *at* 5 *p.m.* (Calcutta, [1879]), p. 14.

[49] Resolutions adopted at the National Press Conference, Calcutta, 14 Jan. 1878 in *Native Opinion*, 27 Jan. 1878, p. 59.

In any case, the Conference decided to perpetuate its existence as a body of the press by establishing provincial committees. The national meeting in January 1878 elected a local committee of Bengali Editors whose duty it was to meet monthly and implement the resolutions on the eastern side of India.[51] A corresponding committee for Bombay Presidency was to be elected at a special meeting in Bombay and such a meeting was convened through the efforts of two members of the *Poona Sarvajanik Sabha* delegation to Calcutta, G. W. Joshi and S. B. Govandye, on 29th March 1878.

The meeting occurred at an inauspicious time, the Vernacular Press Act with its severe limitation on the freedom of the press having been rushed into law by the Government a fortnight earlier. Consequently overall attendance at the Bombay meeting was poor despite some representation from Bombay City and Poona and from mofussil towns like Nasik, Surat, Thana, Ratnagiri and Dhulia. There were also present a few of Bombay City's most influential men such as the wealthy Parsis, Cowasjee Jehangir and Nanabhoy Byramjee Jejeebhoy, and the rising graduates and lawyers, Pherozeshah Mehta and K. T. Telang, but none-the-less many other Bombay notables who usually figured at public meetings were absent.

Resolutions similar to those adopted in Calcutta were passed and office bearers appointed, yet "the proceedings did not go with a smoothness usually observable at meetings in Bombay".[52] This seems to have been directly on account of the impact of the Vernacular Press Act. Enthusiasm for the body was limited especially amongst the influential Parsi Gujarati papers represented by K. N. Kabraji. Editor of the *Rast Goftar,* who wanted the meeting's terms of reference strictly defined and its membership limited only to the press and only to its more respectable members at that.[53]

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[50] British India Association, *Twenty Seventh Annual General Meeting,* 1879, p. 14.

[51] *Native Opinion,* 14 Jan. 1878, p. 59.

[52] *Ibid.,* 31 Mar. 1878, p. 202.

This lack of enthusiasm spelt the failure of the meeting and after its inaugural session it does not seem to have undertaken any further activity nor likewise did the Calcutta provincial committee.[54] The reaction in Bombay Presidency against the Vernacular Press Act was not organised by the committee elected by the Bombay meeting. The suspicion of sedition would have been intensified by any organised Press Association protest; it would in any case have been difficult to obtain support from the Gujarati sections of the Bombay press which were with few exceptions, staid, eminently respectable and conservative.

Thus the attempts to establish an organisation with a countrywide membership collapsed and the National Press Association was allowed to die.[55] Its demise was due partly to a lack of common purpose and attitude at the regional level and partly to the force of circumstances, in this case Government suspicion, which had emphasised the lukewarm acceptance of a common ideal of national organizational unity over public and political issues. Yet inter-regional co-operation on poiltical matters did not immediately cease with the unwillingness of the Press Association to adopt wholeheartedly issues of wider public import nor with its final demise; co-operation continued in a non-institutionalised *ad hoc* form and, by surviving the subsequent two or three years, established a pattern of the methods to be applied in organising public opinion, a tradition which was to be a major element in the successful establishment of the Indian National Congress half-way through the following decade.

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[53] *Ibid.; ibid.*, 17 Mar. 1878, p. 170; *The Times of India*, 30 Mar. 1878, reprinted in Govt. of Bombay, *Source Material* I, pp. 388-390.

[54] No further mention of these committees appears in the files of *Native Opinion* for 1878 or 1879. Govt. of Bombay, *Source Material*, I, pp. 385-388 quotes an account of a Calcutta meeting against the Vernacular Press Act dated 22 January 1878 which it claims is a report of the Calcutta Native Press Conference. This is inaccurate: the Act was passed in March 1878 and in the proceedings of the Calcutta meeting against the Act there is no indication of the organising hand of the Press Association or of its committee as such. However, members of the Committee in different capacities did participate in the proceedings of this meeting.

[55] *The Mahratta*, a Poona English language weekly, 6 Jan. 1884, p. 4.

The basis of this *ad hoc* non-institutionalised co-operation lay in the same desire for some form of national unity which had produced the Press Association and the social conference at the Delhi *Durbar*. Like these bodies it owed a great deal to the opportunities which had been provided at the event for a cross-fertilization of ideas and the establishment of personal contacts on an inter-regional basis; it, too, envisaged the acceptance of a set of common ideas and common attitudes as the cornerstone for this unity. The process begun at the *Durbar* with the establishment of personal relationships and the adoption of common ideas was continued immediately after the conclusion of the *Durbar*. In the social and religious reform field, Dayananda Saraswati toured the Punjab in an attempt to establish how far his views were in consonance with opinion in the region and how useful it would be as a sphere for future activities. In the field of public and political activity, the deputation of the *Poona Sabha* utilised the opportunity provided by their presence so far in the North to undertake a grand tour of the major cities of the upper provinces. They visited Allahabad, Mathura, Agra, Jaipur, Lucknow and Benares *en route* to Calcutta and in each city they had discussions with the leading citizens and gave public lectures. They urged acceptance of the Sabha's views on how to ameliorate the existing economic condition of the people (by a version of *swadeshi*) and how to bring about their future welfare and that of India as a whole. The final result was that in Agra a public association similar to the *Sabha* and in Benares an organization for providing charity to widows and orphans were established. Agra also decided to start a library and establish cotton mills in response to Joshi's speech on "the Industry of India and the workings of the [Poona Sarvajanik] Sabha".[56] Thus Joshi and his deputation in their attempts to make more widespread the sense of public awareness were extending the geographical scope of the influence of the *Poona Sabha* far beyond its previous Marathi speaking limits. This establishment of local organizations and the personal contacts that went with it were further steps in the idea of the fusion of the Indian people which the *Sabha* had outlined prior to the *Durbar*. The particular method adopted, in this case, of visiting important towns, delivering lectures and forming political bodies, was later in the same year, utilised by Surendranath Banerjea although in his autobiography written some forty years later no acknowledgment is given of the prior example of the *Sabha's* deputation.

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[56] *Bombay Gazette*, 31 Jan. 1877; *ibid*., 6 Feb. 1877, p. 3.

After the excitement evoked by the *Durbar* had subsided, personal mutual visits between provincial leaders continued. Bengalis with increasing frequency, visited Western India, for example, and in one such visit Kali Charan Banerjee in November 1877 pointed to the clearer definition that was emerging as to how national unity could be achieved. He pointed out that the only feasible basis was that of common political views, any attempt to obtain India-wide adoption of a universal religion or of similar social customs would inevitably fail.[57] In support of this line of analysis it is to be noted that such personal contact as was being established was between the Western-educated leaders of public opinion in the two Presidencies and that the issues upon which this contact was utilized for the purposes of memorials and petitions were those which directly concerned the educated groups.

This was the common factor involved in Surendranath Banerjea's visit to Western India a month later. Delegated by a public meeting convened by the Indian Association on 24 March 1877 to organise "a national movement"[58] of protest against the reduction in the maximum age of candidates for the Civil Service, Banerjea had barnstormed Northern India urging crowded public meetings to adopt memorials and form associations modelled on the Indian Association.[59] The support obtained had evoked a sentiment of common nationality and demonstrated the feasibility of united action on the basis of an immediate political issue, an idea further tested when he visited Bombay at the end of November 1877.

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[57] Speech of Kali Charan Banerjee, Poona, Nov. 1877 in B. B. Majumdar, "Nationalism in India in Pre-Congress Days", *Indian Journal of Political Science*, XIX, 2 (Apr.-Jan. 1958), p. 146.

[58] Indian Association, *The First Annual Report*, 1876-77, p. vi

[59] For the Calcutta meeting, cf. *Times of India*, 29 Mar. 1877, p. 3; *Native Opinion*, 1 Apr. 1877, p. 203 and S. N. Banerjea, *A Nation in Making*, pp. 44-45. For the changes in the ICS regulations, cf. H. L. Singh, *Problems and Policies of the British in India*, 1885-1898, (Bombay, 1963), pp. 26-33; C. H. Philips et al. (ed.), *Select Documents on the History of India and Pakistan*, Vol. IV. *The Evolution of India and Pakistan*, 1858-1947 (London, 1962), pp. 543-551.

Bombay Presidency had failed to take any action against the new regulations partly because attention had been diverted to the problems posed by the Famine and partly because opinion in Bombay City lacked an adequate focus for its views since its public organization, the Bombay Association, was at that time in a dying state. Banerjea's presence proved catalytic; the Bombay Association convened a public meeting and adopted a memorial based largely upon one drafted by the *Poona Sabha.* Other meetings were held in Poona, Surat and Ahmedabad. In all cases, the example of Bengal was acknowledged and likewise Banerjea's role in persuading influential men to convene the meetings. These men, it should be noted, were graduates and other members of the educated community; they were not the wealthy merchants and caste leaders. Nonetheless these influential groups, although in numbers sparser than had been usual in Bombay City previously, did attend the Bombay Association's meeting against the regulations.[60] The memorials adopted along with others from Madras and Northern India were subsequently presented to Parliament.[61]

Whereas in the 1850's vague agreement had existed amongst the three public associations in the three Presidency Towns to cooperate with one another and act in concert by submitting memorials on the same subject, there had been little personal contact among their organisers; nor had there been any active participation of the members of one body in the marshalling of meetings of or the preparing of memorials for, another inter-regional body. After the Imperial Assemblage and the establishment of personal contacts on an extensive scale among the leaders of Indian (educated) opinion throughout much of India, this pattern changed with the increased awareness of the similarity in their attitudes and activities. It was the development of personal contacts which largely encouraged the feeling of unity, a feeling fostered by similar educational backgrounds and enabled to continue through the developments in internal communications.[62] Thus even though joint activity on a country-wide organised basis had proved a failure, joint activity continued on an *ad hoc* basis among the different regions.

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[60] *Native Opinion,* 2 Dec. 1877, p. 763; *ibid.,* 9 Dec. 1877, p. 778; *ibid,* 16 Dec. 1877, pp. 793-794; *ibid.,* 23 Dec. 1877, pp. 803, 810; Bombay Association, *Minutes of Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting and the Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Annual Reports of the Committee of Management for the Years* 1875, 1876 and 1877, *Adopted on* 1st *August* 1878 (Bombay, 1878), pp. 18-19. S. N. Banerjea, *op.cit.,* pp. 49-50;

[61] *Ibid.,* pp. 50-54.

But the common bonds could be manifested only over common issues. It would be difficult to imagine Bengal taking an interest in the detailed complexities of a specifically local issue such as the Deccan land revenue assessments, for example. It was only over one major issue during Lytton's Viceroyalty that these youthful beginnings of a real national unity were to be manifested. The issue was that of the Vernacular Press Act: although it had been responsible for highlighting the weaknesses in the national organization as such, the range of opinion aroused against the Act reinforced the common bonds that were being firmly established at the time. It would be on this basis that a solid national organization would be laid in the following decade.

Lytton's role in this process seems to have been that by mounting the *Durbar* and assembling a cross-section of representative opinion he had hastened the development of a feeling of unity among the public leaders scattered throughout India and provided a hot-house opportunity for this feeling to manifest itself in practical terms. The forces at work may sooner or later have brought about the same result but Lytton's *Durbar* speeded its development. Yet because of the increasingly intolerant and suspicious attitude which his administration adopted, the weaknesses in the luxuriant growth of an India wide body were emphasised, leading to its subsequent withering. What remained was a much stronger, if somewhat narrower, element of inter-provincial personal ties and contacts amongst politically aware educated groups throughout the country. It was the strength of these contacts which was to be tested and extended in the final years of his administration. On their foundation would be built a successful all-India organization a few years after. The *Durbar*, then, did not merely provide a vague and shadowy model for future national assemblages as Dr. Sitaramayya and, more recently, Professor R. C. Majumdar have suggested;[63] through the fact of its existence it was responsible for the establishment of the first formal inter-provincial institution. Although this proved abortive, a memory survived of what had been attempted. Alongside it, a sense of emotional unity at an India-wide level became firmly established with the concrete demonstrations of solidarity over specific issues such as the Indian Civil Service Regulations and the Vernacular Press Act. Both the memory of the organization and the sense of emotional unity were important strands in the gradual evolution towards the formation of an effective all India body, the Indian National Congress in 1885. But they were only a part of the process of gradual evolution: the groping for a national sentiment and for a national body in which it could find expression had been present long before Lytton introduced his reactionary policies; it had in fact first manifested itself in an organisational form at a time when Lytton's popularity was considerable and when his attitude towards Indian opinion was more sympathetic than is often now remembered.

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[62] cf. *Native Opinion*, 12 May 1878, p. 291.

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[63] B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *op.cit.*, p. 16; R. C. Majumdar, "Chapter XV(LIII). The Indian National Congress" in R.C. Majumdar (General Ed.), *The History and Culture of the Indian People. British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance*, Part II, (Bombay, 1965), pp. 524-525.

Some Aspects of Social Life as Depicted in the Kathāsaritsāgara

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The *Kathāsaritsāgara* was composed to please Queen Sūryamatī of Kaśmīra during the period, 1063-82 A.D., when King Ananta was reigning. It is based on Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, a work of the 1st century A.D., according to Winternitz, and is a stupendous collection of tales dating from the very early days until the *Vetāḷa Pañcavimśati* and the *Pañcatantra* were incorporated in it.

The *Kathāsaritsāgara* has been a subject of controversy in regard to the period of social history which it reflects. A study of the data contained in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* shows that the work mostly depicts social life of early mediaeval India, that is, post-Harṣa and pre-Muslim period.

The references, in the work, to (a) the Rājputs[1] who emerge in Indian history after Harṣa's time; (b) the monasteries for Brāhmaṇas[2], a development of the middle ages[3]; (c) Vallabhī as a centre of learning[4] (as it acquired that reputation by the seventh century A.D.)[5]; (d) the wide prevalence of 'Sati'[6], which was rare before the 6th century A.D. but well-established by the time of Muslim conquest[7]; (e) the institution of 'Devadāsīs'[8] (which is suddenly found in the Indian society after the sixth century

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[1] Kss, CII, 11; LXXIV, 58; XXXVIII, 17-18; CXXIV, 52-53.
[2] *Ibid.*, XVIII, 105, 318; XXV, 63.
[3] A. L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, p. 165.
[4] Kss, XXII, 42-45.
[5] A. S. Altekar, *Education in Ancient India*, pp. 125-127.
[6] Kss, V. 100; LXXIII, 71; X, 17; LVIII; 38; LXXII, 387-388; XXVII, 88-98; LVIII, 55; LXXV, 185; LVIII, 31, 65.
[7] A. S. Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, p. 150.
[8] Kss, LVII, 74-75; XII, 80, 101.

A.D.)[9]; (f) Purāṇic Hinduism firmly established in society; (g) two holy places of early mediaeval India, Vadrikāśrama and Kaṅkhala[10]; (h) and the great belief[11] in astrological predictions based on the study of planets, which began in India since the days of Varāhamihira[12], show that the *Kathāsaritsāgara* largely depicts social life in early mediaeval India.

The data found in the work throw interesting light on contemporary social and cultural life. In the first place we find military training being given to Brāhmaṇa boys, along with the Vedic instruction[13]. The celebrated heroes[14] of the work are Brāhmaṇas, highly proficient in military science. We also find Brāhmaṇas in military service[15], apart from Brāhmaṇa Kings[16]. We have historical confirmation of this picture of society also in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[17] in the inscriptions of Candella, Kalacūri and Cālūkya dynasties[18] and in the early mediaeval inscriptions[19].

We are presented with a good number of Brāhmaṇas in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* who kept up sacrificial fire in their homes and daily offered sacrifices to it and performed other relative rites.[20] Al Bīrūnī notices this class of Brāhmaṇas. He further tells us that a student, while staying with his teacher, performed a sacrifice to fire both at the beginning and at the end of the day. One of the life-long duties of a Brāhmaṇa was to perform the sacrifices, to take care of the fire which he lighted, to make offerings before it, worship it and preserve it from being extinguished, so that he

[9] A. S. Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, p. 150.

[10] Kss, LII, 313; III, 4.

[11] *Ibid.*, CI, 118-119; CIII, 188; L, 129; LV, 96; LXXI, 126; LI, 180; LXXI, 169.

[12] A. L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, pp. 489-490.

[13] Kss, LVI, 9; LXXIV, 155; LXXIII, 69.

[14] *Ibid.*, XLIX, 8, 24, 28; 249; 123-404; XXV, 119-171; X, 15-25; XXVII, 163-208; LXXIX, 21.

[15] *Ibid.*, LXXVIII, 8-12; XXV, 126-127; LIII, 80-84; LXXIII, 25-27.

[16] *Ibid.*, XLIX, 249; XXXVI, 109; XVIII, 402-403; LVI, 6-135.

[17] R. T., VIII, 3018; VIII, 1071; VIII, 1345; VII, 675.

[18] *E.I.*, IV, 158; Indian Antiquary, XXV, 205 ff; Indian Historical Quarterly, 1928, p. 35, lines 44-45; *Dvyāśrayakāvya* of Hemacandra XVI.

[19] *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 24; Vol. XVIII, p. 87; P. V: Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 449.

[20] Kss, CXXIV, 91; LXXXII, 3; LXXIII, 58; LVI, 177.

might be burnt by it after his death, says Al Bīrūnī[21]. It is worth-noting that during the Cauhan rule Bhillamala was inhabited by 45,000 scholarly Brāhmaṇas all of whom had, in their respective homes, a Yajñaśālā or Agnihotra. They daily performed sacrifices with offerings made to all gods beginning with Indra[22]. The epigraphic corroboration of this practice is noticed in the inscription of King Mahāśivagupta of Somavansi dynasty[23]; while in contemporary *smṛti, kṛtya kalpataru,* it is mentioned as one of the duties of a true Brahmaṇa to keep burning sacred fire[24].

The great importance attached to education by individuals[25] and the State is proved by the existence of numerous *'agrahāra'*[26] villages which were centres of learning where higher instruction was imparted free, in different branches of studies[27]. In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* there is mention of numerous instances of land-grants made to scholarly Brāhmaṇas[28]. The contemporary *smṛti* writer, Lakṣmīdhara, mentions the endowments that he had made out of his own wealth, of numerous villages in which *'śrotriyas'* lived happily[29]. The Gāhaḍavāla records describe the grant of a village to five hundred *'śrotriyas'* of different *'gotras'*[30]. The aim of education was knowledge for its own sake. We find wealthy and well-placed young men undergoing hardships in quest of knowledge[31]. This was in conformity with ancient Indian attitude towards learning.

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[21] Sachau, Vol. I, p. 102; Vol. II, p. 131, 133.

[22] D. Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties,* p. 289.

[23] *E.I.,* XI, Sirpur Stone Inscription, 192-193.

[24] *Kṛtya kalpataru, Gṛhasthakāṇḍa Brāhmaṇakarmadharmavṛttis.*

[25] Ksṣ, VII, 41, 48; XI, 13, 14; XI, 82; II, 44; VI, 32; IV, 27; XL, 14, 15-22.

[26] *Ibid.,* VII, 41-42; XX, 7; LXXVI, 5, 6; LXXXII, 3; LXXIII, 200-201; XXVIII, 156; LLV, 74.

[27] A. S. Altekar, *Education in Ancient India,* pp. 140-141.

[28] R. T. VI, 89; I, 87, 90, 96, 98, 100, 121, 174, 200, 311, 316, 340, 341; IV, 9; V, 403; VI, 336; VII, 182, 184, 214, 618, 956.

[29] *Kṛtya kalpataru,* Vol. II, edited by K. V. R. Aiyangar, Introduction, p. 71.

[30] Candrāvatī Plates, dated *Samvat* 1150 and 1156. "Catalogue of Archaeological Exhibits in the Museum at Lucknow", 1915, pp. 90-91.

[31] Kss, II, 44; IV, 26-27; CIV, 84; VII, 56; LXIII, 5-8; CVIII, 20-21; XXXII, 43-45; III, 4-8; VI, 22; IV, 21.

The agencies of education were *'gurus'*[32], whose fame attracted students from different parts of the country. Vallabhī[33] and Kaśmīra[34] were great centres of learning in early mediaeval India[35], while Pāṭaliputra, though no longer a recognised centre of learning, had still its fame well-remembered, as we find in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*[36] which is corroborated by the *Kāvyāmīmaṁsā* as well[37]. Monasteries for Brāhmaṇas as centres of learning, noticeable in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*[38], were mediaeval institutions[39] and in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* there are numerous references to Buddhist *'vihāras'* and Hindu *'maṭhas'* also as centres of learning[40]. Kalacūri and Cālūkya Kings too established *'maṭhas'* for the promotion of learning[41]. In Kṣemendra's *Deśopadeśa,* a contemporary work, there are intimate details about a Hindu *'maṭha'* in Kaśmīra, with students even from distant Bengal (Gauḍa).[42] As already noted, the *'agrahāras'* too were centres of learning.

The curriculum[43] of study comprised the Vedas, military science, *'vidyās'* and *'kalās'*. The great importance attached to Vedic studies in early mediaeval India is noticed in Rājaśekhara, in the *Kṛtya kalpataru,* in Medhātithi and in Al Bīrūnī who tells us that not only the Brāhmaṇas but the Kṣatriyas too learnt and mastered the Vedas while the existence of Brahmaṇas well-versed in the Vedas is attested by Candella inscriptions and the social life during the Cauhān rule.[44] Grammar[45] was included among the *'vidyās'*, fourteen in number.[46] Special importance was attached to grammar in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and it is corroborated by the social picture[47] of early mediaeval India found in literature, inscriptions, in the account of Al Bīrūnī and in the modern works on the period. The *'kalās'*, sixty-four[48] in number, included music, dance and poetic composition among others and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* presents us with Princes and Brāhmaṇas, who had proficiency in the arts of singing, dancing, composing poems and hymns etc., along with mastery in the art of fighting and thorough knowledge of the *śāstras*.[49] The *Kādambarī*[50] of Bāṇa attests the cultural value of the above curriculum for the aristocratic class. In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[51] King Jayāpīḍa is found to be a scholar with specialization in grammar and proficiency in the arts of dance and music, and in the same work Prince Harṣa is referred to as a great lover of music and a good singer himself. The above curriculum was meant for Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas, according to the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. The work does not throw any light on the education of the Vaiśyas excepting that a merchant's son was expected to take to his father's profession and so he was to learn a little of mathematics.[52] The statement of Al Bīrūnī[53] that Vaiśyas were not allowed to prosecute Vedic studies seems to have been based on his observation of contemporary practice. The practice of magic was unlawful and punishable though it was one of the sixty-four arts.[54] In contemporary literature, however, the fact that magic was practised and that it was not considered a decent vocation is noticeable.[55]

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[32] *Ibid*, VI, 32; CIV, 17-24; XLIX, 153-154; XX, 116, 117-120; IV, 2; CIV, 84; VII, 56; CVIII, 20-21.

[33] *Ibid*, XXXII, 43-45.

[34] *Ibid*, LXVI, 6-10.

[35] A. S. Altekar, *Education in Ancient India*, pp. 131-133.

[36] Kss, IV, 2; II, 33-65; VII, 56.

[37] *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p. 55.

[38] Kss, XVIII, 105-107; 318-319; XXV, 63.

[39] A. L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, p. 165.

[40] R. T., VII, 214; VIII, 243, 2401, 3320-21; VII, 151, 182-183, 956; VIII, 246, 374, 1052, 2309, 2333-34; VII, 120; VIII, 2408, 2402, 2431, 3354, 3355-56; 3359; VIII, 3350; VII, 149; VIII, 2420; VIII, 2422, 2423, 3426; VII, 1010.

[41] E.I., Vol. II, pp. 7-17.

[42] Deśopadeśa, Lesson VI.

[43] Kss, LXXXIV, 155; LVI, 91; XLIX, 161; XXVII, 163-166; XLIX, 810-833; II, 35; VI, 147-148; II, 68-70; CXX, 55-57; II, 116-151; XXXIV, 155-173; XXXIV, 155; XI, 17-18; XII, 27-33; XXI, 6-10.

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[44] Rājaśekhara, *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p. 7, 11, 28 ff; *Kṛtyakalpataru*, Garhasthyakāṇḍa, Brāhmaṇakarmadharmavidhi; Medhātithi on Manu, III, 1; Sachau, Vol. II, p. 126; E.I., Vol. XX, pp. 126-128; D. Sharma, *Early Chaukan Dynasties*, p. 287.

[45] Kss, VI, 116-151; II, 68-70.

[46] A. S. Altekar, *Education in Ancient India*, p. 306

[47] *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 319-320; D. Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p. 287-288.

[48] *Kāmasūtra*, I, 3, 16.

[49] Kss, XXVII, 163-166; II, 35; XXXIV, 155-172; XI, 17-18; XII, 27-33; XXI, 6-10; CXX, 55-57; LV, 179; LXIX, 114; LIII, 31-32.

[50] *Kādambarī* English Trans. by M. R. Kale, pp. 104-105.

[51] R. T., IV, 423-491; VII, 613-627.

[52] Kss, VI.

[53] Sachau, *Alberuni's India* (Published by S. Chand, Popular Edition 1964), Ch. XII, p. 125.

Visiting the King's court to gain recognition as a scholar, which is an ancient Indian practice,[56] is noticeable in the *Kathāsaritsāgara,* in which a scholar from Kaśmīra is found to have reached the court of Pāṭaliputra and scornfully challenged the local learned men to dispute with him.[57] We learn from Jayānaka's *Pṛthvirājavijaya* that in the contemporary period scholars were tested by the learned men of the court of the Cauhān King Pṛthvirāja III.[58]

Physicians[59] and astrologers[60] are two important professional groups in the *Kathāsaritsāgara,* which fact suggests that medicine and astrology were two well-cultivated subjects of the period. That medicine was one of the important subjects well-cultivated during the period is noticed in contemporary records.[61] It is interesting to note that according to Rājaśekhara '*Āyurveda*' is a compulsory subject of study even for one who aspired to be a poet.[62] That medicine was highly cultivated in early mediaeval India is amply illustrated in the fact that during the period following the Arab conquest of Sind, Hindu physicians were invited to Baghdad and appointed there as the chief physicians of hospitals and were asked to translate into Arabic important Sanskrit works on medicine.[63] As regards astrology, Al Bīrūnī[64] noticed the importance of '*Jyotiṣa*' as a subject of study; colleges were established during this period for the study of '*Jyotiṣa*'.[65] Important works on astrology of the period are *Rājamārtāṇḍa, Bhīmaparākrama, Bhujabalanibandha,* and Someśvara's *Mānasollasa.*[66]

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[54] Kss, LII, 104, 113-114; LXXXIII, 37; IV, 97, 101; LXXVI, 21-31; XVII, 121-124.

[55] Kṣemendra, *Darpadalanam* (Kāvyamālā Series) III, verses 7, 42.

[56] *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad,* III, 6, 8; *Kāvyamīmāṁsā,* p. 55.

[57] Kss, LXVI, 63-64.

[58] Jayanaka's *Pṛthvirājavijaya,* ed. by G. H. Ojha & C. Guleri, verses 6-30.

[59] Kss, CI, 118-119; CIII, 188; L, 129; LV, 96; LXXI, 126; LI, 180; LXXI, 169; XIX, 52-118; XII, 13; XXI, 70-79; XXXIII, 170-173.

[60] *Ibid.,* XXXIX, 90; XLI, 9-11; LXI 255-56; LXVI, 29; XL, 46; XV, 11-16; LXXXV, 11-34; LIII, 102.

[61] Sachau, Vol. I, p. 159; B. P. Mazumdar, *Socio-Economic History of Northern India,* p. 147; D. Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties,* p. 289, ff. 51.

[62] *Kāvyamīmāṁsā,* p. 7, 11, 26 ff.

[63] Ishwari Prasad, *A Short History of Muslim Rule in India,* p. 39.

[64] Sachau, Vol. I, pp. 152-153.

Coming to female education, we catch glimpses of learned girls proficient in dance and accomplished in music and painting.[67] Proficiency of women in fine arts in early mediaeval period is attested by the *Harṣa-Carita,*[68] *Priyadarśikā*[69] and *Pṛthvirāja Vijaya,*[70] by the poet Rajaśekhara[71] and by the social history of the Cauhāns.[72]

The *Kāthāsaritsāgara* notices intercaste marriages of '*anuloma*' type as a very common feature of society.[73] In support of it we can cite early mediaeval epigraphic references.[74] In the *Karpūramañjarī* (1.11), Brāhmaṇa Rājaśekhara states that his wife Avantīsundarī was born in the Kṣatriya Cauhān family. In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we find that King Sangrāmarāja (A.D. 1003-28) gave his daughter in marriage to a Brāhmaṇa.[75]

Instances of '*gāndharva*' marriages[76] in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* find indirect historical confirmation in the fact that '*anuloma*' marriages in historical records, as noted above, were in all probability culmination of mutual love, the essence of *'gāndharva'* marriage. Though intercaste marriages also could be arranged by guardians as we have seen in a case in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī,*[77] as noted above, it can be reasonably assumed that marriage in the same caste being the regular and most respected form, the intercaste marriages referred to in early mediaeval records were instances of *'gāndharva'* marriage. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* also tells the same because most of the intercaste marriages noticed in it are *'gāndharva'* marriages, excepting a few instances.

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[65] *Dvyāśrayakāvya* of Hemacandra, *Canto* XV, J.R.A.S. (N.S.) Vol. I, p. 414.

[66] B. P. Mazumdar, *Socio-Economic History of Northern India,* p. 151.

[67] Kss, LI, 23; LXXII, 66; XXXV, 126; VI, 116-118; CXXIV, 58; XLII, 268; IX, 40-41; LV, 92; XLV, 234-235; LXXI, 76-77; XXXIV, 170-171; CVI, 111-113; LI, 6; XII, 27-33; IX, 40-41; CXVII, 24-28; LV, 17-69; CI, 74-82.

[68] *Harṣacarita,* English Trans. by Thomas and Cowell, p. 121.

[69] *Priyadarśikā,* **Act, I**

[70] *Pṛthvirājavijaya,* verse 38.

[71] Introduction to the *Karpūramañjarī* and *Kāvyamīmāṁsā,* G. P. S., pp. 20, 46, 57; *Viddhaśālabhañjika,* I, 35; *Karpūramañjarī,* III, 14, 34.

[72] D. Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties,* p. 255.

[73] Kss, XXV, 171; XVIII, 203; VII, 82, 101; LXXXIX, 57-58; XXIV, 42; XVIII, 265-267; LXXXIII, 35-36; XVIII, 74-80; XXI, 56-57; X, 146; XXVI, 156; XXV, 208.

[74] E.I., Vol. XV, p. 39; Vol. XVIII, p. 87; Vol. IV, p. 12. Archaeological Survey of Western India, Reports, Vol. IV, p. 140; P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra,* Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 448-450.

[75] R.T., VII, 10-12.

[76] Kss, III, 60-67; X, 146; VI, 13-14; LXXV, 131; LXXXVI, 113; VII, 82.

The *Kathāsaritsāgara* notes that in usual circumstances the marriage proposal would come from the side of the groom.[78] This is corroborated by the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* where we notice that for the Coḷa princess Raṇarambhā, marriage proposals came from many rulers[79] and also by the *Harṣacarita,* in which marriage proposals for princess Rājyaśrī are found to have come from different royal families.[80]

Marriage celebration by day is another important point for study in the *Kathāsaritsāgara.*[81] We find that it was followed by feast and rejoicings and according to a story, after the departure of the guests at the close of the day, Sūryaprabha entered the private apartments of his bride.[82] Similar description is found in other cases too. We further note that the bridegroom, after marriage, sometimes spent a week or so in the father-in-law's house and then departed along with the bride.[83] A similar practice is found in the case of Rājyaśrī's marriage, in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita.* After the marriage rites were performed, Gṛhavarman along with Rājyaśrī, bowed at the feet of her parents and then retired to the well-adorned bridal chamber kept ready for them. And having spent ten blissful days in his father-in-law's house

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[77] R.T., VII, 10-12.

[78] Kss, LV, 85-88; IX, 37-38; LXXXI, 32-33; LXXVI, 8; CIV, 63; LXXX, 9-16.

[79] R.T., III, 432-434.

[80] *Harṣacarita,* English Trans., by Cowell and Thomas, Ch. IV, pp. 122-123.

[81] *Ibid.,* L. 156; LI, 185; CIII, 206.

[82] *Ibid.,* L. 156.

[83] *Ibid.,* LI, 189-191; LV, 103.

Gṛhavarman set out with Rājyaśrī for his home.[84] Marriage celebration in the morning (*prātaḥ*) is noticed in the *Matsya Purāṇa.*[85]

Rejoicings at the birth of a daughter[86] and tender love and care[87] for her are striking features noticeable in the *Kathāsaritsāgara.* The daughters were obtained by propitiating deities.[88] Love and care for daughters[89] and admiration[90] of a father of many excellent daughters are noticeable even in the *Ṛgveda* while in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* we find desire on the part of men to have daughters who would be learned. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* throws light on the true position of a daughter in a family in ancient and mediaeval India. The daughter was not unwelcome; but the uncertainty of her future happiness which would depend on her husband, often made the parents sad, as is clear from the *Kathāsaritsāgara*[91] and the *Harṣacarita.*[92] In the light of the above picture of Indian society, we can accept the view of Martin Haug[93] that the term *'kṛpanam'* used for a daughter in the *Aitāreya Brāhmaṇa*[94] means that she is an object of compassion and not a source of misery as interpreted by Keith.[95]

A very noble attitude is shown towards abducted women in the *Kathāsaritsāgara,* in which it is seen that abducted women were recovered and returned to their relatives.[96] No stigma was attached to them nor had they any trouble to be taken back by their husbands without social censure. Madanamañcukā, the heroine of the main plot of the work, whose case is very much similar to that of Sītā, was recovered and in full dignity and honour she joined her prince husband and with the glory of the Chief Queen she ascended the throne at the coronation of her husband as an Emperor.[97] This kind of attitude is in conformity with the rules of Atri and Devala. The later provides purificatory rites for abducted women.[98]

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[84] *Harṣacarita,* English Trans. by Cowell and Thomas, pp. 130-131.

[85] *Matsya Purāṇa,* CLIV, 423. The *Padmapurāṇa* has changed it into *'prītaḥ', Padma Purāṇa, Sṛṣṭi* Kh. XLV, 408.

[86] Kss, XVIII, 85; XVIII, 260; XXVIII, 50-73; LIX, 9-12; LIX, 86-87; XXXIV, 49; XXV, 97-105; LXXXIII, 7-13.

[87] *Ibid.,* XVIII, 260; LXXXVI, 6; XXVIII; LXXXVI, 130-140; LXXV, 185; LII, 153-154; CI, 215; XXIV, 161; III. 58.

[88] *Ibid.,* LII, 92-93; XI, 75, 79; XLIII, 144-146.

[89] R.V., VIII, 31, 8; VI, 75, 5; Bṛhad. Up. VI, 4, 17.

[90] R. E. Hume, *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads,* p. 171.

[91] Kss, XXIX, 92; XXV, 125-126.

[92] *Harṣacarita,* English Trans. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 122.

[93] M. W. Pinkham, *Women in the Sacred Scriptures of Hinduism,* p. 55.

[94] *Ait. Br.,* VII, 13.

[95] Harvard Oriental Series, XXV, 299, 300.

[96] Kss, CV, 6-17; LXXXVII, 6-9; CXXI, 3-20.

In the *Kathāsaritsāgara* we notice the idea that a married woman, if made a '*Devadāsī*, can be taken as legal wife by another man.[99] In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[100] we find its historical corroboration as King Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya married the wife of merchant named Nona after she was made a *Devadāsī* in a temple; she was the lady who was the mother of the three illustrious Kings of Kaśmīra, Candrāpīḍa, Tārāpīḍa and Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa. Such idea or practice does not have any traditional or *Dharmaśāstric* support or sanction. It is worth noting that according to Strabo[101] temple-girls in Egypt called wives of the god, were mourned as dead when married to human husbands. A similar idea is noticed in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that *Devadāsī-hood* would completely transform the personality of a woman; and so entering into that position or abandoning it implied a total change of legal status. Even a married lady, as soon as she became a *Devadāsī* was looked upon as a new person and so legally eligible to be married to another man.

As regards the position of widows, besides the wide prevalence of *satī* noticed in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and corroborated in contemporary sources as already pointed out, we find some instances of the re-marriage of widows.[102] Though Al Bīrūnī[103] says that Indian widows did not re-marry, we have a historical instance of the re-marriage of a child-widow in the Cālūkya records and literary sources.[104] That parents could think of re-marrying their young widowed daughters and seek co-operation of female relations in this matter is noticed in *Jagaducarita*.[105] That a contemporary author Hemacandra[106] expresses his disapproval of the re-marriage of a widow suggests that such marriages were still not totally stopped. In the *Nārada-smṛti* a woman is permitted to take a second husband in case of five calamities.[107]

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[97] Kss, CX, 75-76.

[98] P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 575.

[99] Kss, XV, 76.

[100] R.T. IV, 11-126.

[101] Strabo, XII, 559 (published by Wolters, Amsterdam, 1707).

[102] Kss, XVIII, 259-289; XVIII, 321-344; LXVI, 78-95; XCVIII, 47-50.

[103] Sachau, Vol. II, p. 155.

'*Niyoga*', that is the practice of raising issues to the widow of a deceased, had long become obsolete by early mediaeval period. In the *Purāṇas* written after A.D. 600, '*Niyoga*' was forbidden.[108] Al Bīrūnī[109] records that though it was practised in ancient India, it was no more in vogue at the time of his visit. In the *Kathāsaritsāgara* the practice is not generally noticed excepting one solitary instance in which the legal position of a child born of such an union is a knotty problem to be decided.[110] Thus the *Kathāsaritsāgara* shows that '*Niyoga*' was not a common practice of the day. Neither the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* nor the social history of the contemporary period provides any instance of the practice.

We get the impression that rice was the main item of food[111] and it is in conformity with the ancient Indian practice too. There are a few referēnces to wheat which however was associated with poverty and utter destitution.[112] Rice had been the staple food since the later Vedic days.[113] Sulaiman[114] in A.D. 851 and Ibn

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[104] *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of Merutunga, Trans. by Tawney, 155-156. Some unpublished inscriptions of Vastupāla, Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, IX, 174, fn.

[105] *Jagaducarita*, III, vv. 19-27.

[106] *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* of Hemacandra III, 87-88.

[107] *Nārada*, XII, 97.

[108] A. S. Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, pp. 172-175.

[109] Sachau, Vol. I, pp. 107-108.

[110] Kss., XCIII, 7-101.

[111] *Ibid.*, XLIII, 55; LIV, 170; LXII, 181-182; XXIX, 88.

[112] *Ibid.*, CXXI, 74-76.

[113] *Taittirīya Samhitā* I, 8-10, *Kāṭhaka Samhitā*, XV, 5; *Atharvaveda*, VI, 140-142; VII, 7-10; IX, 6-14; *Baud. Gr.*, II, 6, 21; *Gobhila Gr.*, I, 4-28; *Śatapatha Brahmana*, V, 5, 5, 9; *Bṛhad.* Up., VI, 3, 32; *Chāndogya* Up., III, 14, 3; *Arthaśāstra*, Bk II, ch. XV, ch. XXXVI. Magasthenes, *Fragm.* XXVII, XXVIII. *Caraka -Samhitā*, *Sūtrasthānam*, ch. 27, *Annapānavidhi*. *Suśruta Samhitā*, *Sūtrasthānam*, ch. 46, *Annapānavidhi*.

[114] E. Renaudot, *Ancient Accounts of India and China*, p. 34.

Masah[115] (who died in A.D. 1000) have noticed that rice was the most common food of the Indians. In the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*,[116] and in the *Deśīnāmamālā*,[117] the same fact is noticed and we find it corroborated in contemporary literary sources[118] of early mediaeval India.

Apart from men[119] we find ladies including maidens also indulging in drinking wine.[120] This practice among women is seen in unbroken continuity in Indian society from the earliest times until early mediaeval days. Though the *Dharma-Śāstras* had forbidden women to drink wine;[121] all the ancient and early mediaeval references point to the practice.[122] Golden and jewelled plates and cups noticed in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* have historical confirmation.[123]

The *Kathāsaritsāgara* notices prevalence of gambling[124] which, though a pastime, was as much a vice since the Vedic[125] days as in the society depicted in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. The prevalence of the practice in early mediaeval India is noted in the *Moharājaparājaya*,[126] in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*,[127] in Kṣemendra,[128] in the *Deśīnāmamālā*[129] of Hemacandra and in *Nārada smṛti*[130] and *Bṛhaspati*[131] *smṛti* and in the fact that Cālūkya King Kumārapāla made earnest efforts to stop this ruinous practice.[132]

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[115] Ferrand, *Textes Geographiques*, I, 238.

[116] *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, Trans. by Tawney, 200.

[117] Hemacandra, *Deśīnāmamālā*, I, 88; VI, 44.

[118] *Mānasollāsa*, II, p. 115; *Prakrita Pingala*, p. 403, lines 1-3. *Naiṣadha carita*, Canto XIV, 68; *Deśīnāmamālā*, I, 88.

[119] Kss, XLV, 230; XLIII, 64; LIV, CX, 124-32; XXI, 6-8; XI, 5; LXXXV, 9-10; XXXIX, 207; XXXVI, 67-68; LII, 2; LXXVII, 57; LVII, 7-8; LVII, 26-34; CIV, 162.

[120] *Ibid.*, XXI, 6-8; LXXIV, 304; CVI, 51-53; LXXXV, 10; XXXVI, 9-90; XXXV, 109-110; XXXIX, 207; LXIV, 44-48; LXVI, 141-142; LXXV, 115; XIII, 159.

[121] *Manu*, IX, 80; *Yāj*, I, 73; III, 256; *Vas. Dh.S.*, 21, II.

[122] *Sam. Gr.*, I, 11, 5; *Asv. gr.*, II, 5, 5; *Sam. gr.*, 7, 11, 5. *Rāmā*, *Uttarakāṇḍ*, 42, 18; *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, 52-89; *Mālavikā*, III, 49; *Kumārasambhava* IV, 12; VIII, 80; Fleet, C.I.I., III, 18, p. 81; *Jaina Padmapurāṇa*, ch. II; *Karpūramañjarī*, p. 256; *Dvyāśrayakāvya* of Hemachandra, XI, V, 13; *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, IX, Guccha II, 125.

[123] Kss, XLIII, 55; XXI, 6; CX, 125; XXI, 8, 10. *Vedavyāsa*, III, 67-68; *Caraka*, Cikitsā, ch. XXIV, 14; *Suśruta*, Su. ch. 46, 449-456. Megasthanes, Frag. XXVIII. S. Beal, *Buddhist Records*, p. 135. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 577; *The age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 486.

[124] *Ibid.*, LXXIII, 72-74; XXVI, 115-117; CXXIV, 210; XXIV, 57-59; LXXIII, 203; LXXIII, 188-190; LXXVII, 17-18; XIX, 17-18; LXXV, 95; LXXIV, 140-142.

[125] Rv. X, 42, 9; 43, 5; VII, 86, 6.

Interesting light is thrown by the *Kathāsaritsāgara* on the practice of males wearing ornaments. Ornaments worn by men of rank were diadem,[133] necklaces[134] and bracelets.[135] Necklaces and bracelets are frequently mentioned together in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and also in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[136] In the *Kādambarī*,[137] diadems, necklaces and bracelets are referred to as male ornaments and Hsūan Tsang[138] too mentions them as usual ornaments of high-ranking men. Ear-rings and finger-rings worn by men are also noticeable in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*[139] and in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[140] The practice of males wearing ornaments in early mediaeval India is attested by Al Bīrūnī,[141] *Pṛthvirājavijaya*,[142] Abu Zaid,[143] Kṣemendra[144] and the *Mānasollāsa*.[145] Garlands and flowers were worn by men accordng to the *Kathāsaritsāgara*;[146] the fact is corroborated by the *Rājataraṅginī*,[147] *Kādambarī*[148] and Hsūan Tsang.[149]

[126] *Moharājaparājaya* Act IV, p. 86.
[127] R. T., III, 392-393.
[128] Kṣemendra, *Deśopadeśa*, Sixth Lesson, v. 31.
[129] *Deśīnāmamālā* of Hemacandra, VI, vv. 41-42.
[130] *Nārada Smṛti*, XVII, 1.
[131] *Bṛhaspati Smṛti*, XXVI (as quoted in Digests).
[132] Hemacandra, *Mahāvīracarita*, V. 98.
[133] Kss., XXIV, 9; L; LIV; XLV; LV, 133.
[134] *Ibid.*, XXXVI, 111; XXXIII, 211; XXVI, 234; LV; LIV.
[135] *Ibid.*, XXIV, 219; XLV, 152.
[136] R. T., IV, 69.
[137] *Kādambarī*, English Trans. by C. M. Ridding, pp. 7-12.
[138] S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 134.
[139] Kss., XX, 203-204; CXXIV, 164; XVIII, 361-369.
[140] R. T., V, 341-347; VII, 749; IV, 720; VII, 812, 876; IV, 440; VII, 782-86.
[141] Sachau, Vol. I, Ch. XVI, p. 181.
[142] *Pṛthvirājavijaya*, II, 17-30.
[143] Elliot and Dawson, Vol. I, p. 11.
[144] *Dasāvatāracaritam*, *Buddhāvatāra*, vv. 33, 62, 68.
[145] *Mānasollāsa*, III, 1585-1589.
[146] Kss., XXII, 138; LXXVII, 66; XL, 2.
[147] R. T., III, 529.
[148] *Kādambarī*, English Trans. by C. M. Ridding, pp. 7-12.
[149] S. Beal. *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 134.

As regards women there are references to low-cut blouses and tightly fitted bodices worn by them.[150] Bodices overlaid with bright pears are mentioned in the *Harṣacarita*,[151] in connection with the preparation of Rājyaśrī's marriage. In the *Kādambarī*[152] there are details of the bodice worn by Mahāśvetā. Bodices called '*Kūrpāsakas*' were worn by ladies in early mediaeval Rajasthan.[153] That it was a practice of early mediaeval period is attested by the *Rājataraṅginī*,[154] *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*[155] and social life of contemporary Gujarat.[156]

The ornaments mostly worn by women were pearl necklaces,[157] girdles,[158] bracelets[159] and anklets.[160] That these were the ornaments worn by urban ladies is illustrated in one of the stories.[161] Ear-rings and finger-rings are mentioned in another story.[162] Flowers were worn in ears,[163] on hair[164] and garlands on the neck.[165] This fact is attested by the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*,[166] the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*[167] and by the social practices of early mediaeval Rajasthan.[168]

In the *Kathāsaritsāgara* we come across mostly female slaves.[169] The reason for it can be noted in the economic disabilities of women, as they had no decent way of earning a livelihood open to them. The life of a slave, however, had some security, honour and legal support. In two documents[170] called *'Svayamāgatā-dāsīpatra-vidhi'* dated V. S. 1288, contained in the *Lekhapaddhati*, there are declarations made by destitute girls accepting slavery. The declarations studied critically show that the masters could not enjoy them physically. This is further corroborated in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* in which social disapproval of and contempt for developing any kind of attachment for a slave woman are noticeable.[171]

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[150] Kss., LXXXIV, 7; CIV, 165.

[151] *Harṣacarita,* English Trans. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 125.

[152] *Kādambarī,* para 248.

[153] D. Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties,* p. 264.

[154] R. T., I, 294-295; VII, 928-931.

[155] Bilhana, *Vikramāṅkadevacarita,* VIII, 45.

[156] A. K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat,* p. 356.

[157] Kss., CXXIII, 51; XXX, 27; CIV, 165; LXXV, 163; XCVIII, 35; VIII, 35; CIV, 165.

[158] *Ibid.,* LXXXI, 16-17; LIX, 5.

[159] *Ibid.,* XXXVII, 16-17.

[160] *Ibid.,* XXV, 152; XLV, 234; COV, 264; CI, 232.

[161] *Ibid.,* LXI, 26.

[162] *Ibid.,* LXIII, 30-31.

[163] *Ibid.,* LXXXV, 11.

[164] *Ibid.,* CIV, 88.

[165] *Ibid.,* LXXV, 70.

[166] R. T., VII, 928-931.

[167] *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī,* I, Guccha, III, 23; Guccha II, 60; VII, Guccha I, 211; Guccha II, 54.

[168] D. Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties,* p. 263.

[169] Kss., LVII, 52; XXVII, 88; LXII, 176; LVIII, 113; CIV, 161; LXXXVIII, 23; LVII, 107-136.

The spring festival is a popular festival noticed in the work.[172] Celebrated in honour of 'Kāmadeva', it was a festival of early mediaeval India as we learn from the contemporary sources.[173] It can be pointed out in this connection that it does not seem to be correct to identify the spring festival with modern *'Holi'* as some renowned scholars including Prof. A. L. Basham[174] have done. In the *Kāmasūtra* the two festivals are separately mentioned, as *'Madanotsava'* and *'Udakakṣveḍikā'*.[175] The former is the type of spring festival as described in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and contemporary sources, while the latter is of the type of modern *'Holi'* on which occasion people spray coloured water on one another. Of course, we may add, that in course of time the two possibly were amalgamated with each other. This hypothesis gains support in the fact that in Rajasthan during the Cauhān rule people, while celebrating spring festival in honour of 'Kāmadeva', used to spray coloured water on one another.[176] It can be noted in this connection that the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, with its references to the temples of 'Kāmadeva'[177] and to the practice of maidens worshipping the God of Love on the day of their marriage,[178] throws further light on the practice of worshipping 'Kāmadeva', that obtained in early mediaeval India.

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[170] *Lekhapaddhati*, 44-47.

[171] Kss., LVII, 51-52.

[172] *Ibid.*, LXXXV, 6; VI, 108-109; CXXII, 8-11; LIV, 58; XCI, 22; IV, 35; X, 87, 88, 89; LXXXIX, 6.

[173] *Raghu.*, IX, 46; *Mālavikā*, Act III, *Sāk*, Act VI; Hemādri, *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, Vol. II (Vratakhaṇḍa), Pt. I; *Kṛtya kalpataru*, *Niyata-Kālakāṇḍa*; Caṇḍeśvara, *Kṛtyaratnākara*, pp. 128, 137-139; *Kalaviveka*, p. 470; D. Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p. 266; Sachau, Vol. II, p. 178; *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VII, 128.

[174] A. L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, p. 207.

[175] *Kāmasūtra*, Book I, Ch. IV, 27-28; English Trans. by V. Shastri, pp. 36-37.

[176] D. Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p. 266.

The festival of Indra is another important festival referred to in the work.[179] It was celebrated in honour of the god of rain (Indra), from the 8th to the 12th of the *Bhādrapada*.[180] A political festival,[181] to be performed by the King for the prosperity of the realm and success abroad, it is noticed in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[182] and other mediaeval works[183] as well.

The festival in honour of Goddess Durgā is noticed in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.[184] The *Durgapūjā* festival is mentioned in contemporary *smṛti* literature.[185] The days on which Durgā's worship in the month of *Āśvina* was held, are known in Hemacandra's *Dvyāśraya* as '*Navāha*', which his commentator Abhayatilaka Gaṇī calls '*Navarātra*', beginning on the first day of the bright half of *Āśvina* and lasting for nine days. The festival ended on the tenth day called *Vijaya Daśamī*.[186] The festival of *Mahānavamī* noticed by Al Bīrūnī[187] was probably identical with the *Durgāpūja* festival described above.

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[177] Kss., CIV, 128; LXVII, 17.

[178] *Ibid.*, CIV, 128.

[179] *ibid.*, IV, 3-4.

[180] Kālidāsa, *Raghu.*, IV, 3.

[181] *Kṛtyakalpataru*, *Rājadharmakāṇḍa*. Ch. 17, Dhajocchrāyavidhi.

[182] R. T., VIII, 170, 495.

[183] *Dvyāśrayakāvya* of Hemacandra, III, 8.; *Triṣaṣṭiśalāka-puruṣacarita* (Eng. Tr.) 343; Bhoja, *Rājamārtaṇḍa* (Aboric, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 323-327); *Kṛtyakalpataru*, *Rājadharmakāṇḍa*, edited by K. V. R. Aiyangar, Introd., p. 78.

[184] Kss., LXXX, 18-20.

[185] *Kṛtyakalpataru*, *Niyatakālakāṇḍa*, p. 404; *Kṛtyaratnākara*, pp. 309-315.

[186] *Dvyāśrayakāvya*, III, 6.

[187] Sachau, Vol. II, pp. 179-190.

Madurai and Tanjore, 1659-1666

BY

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I

(Proença's letter of the 9th September, 1662)

When Father Proença wrote his letter of the 22nd of July 1659, the kingdom of Tanjore had passed into the hands of the Muslim, and he feared the same fate might be in store for that of Madurai. But things turned out differently as we shall see in the following letter:—

In the last 'Annual' I described how the Muslims of the Idalcan, came with a powerful army and, after ravaging part of the Madurai kingdom, took possession of that of Tanjore and divided it among their captains to levy the usual tribute. This caused us great distress for we believed that, being in possession of Tanjore, they would push on their conquests and annex the kingdom of Madurai. Those foreign invaders gave some hope to the inhabitants of the country that their situation would improve, for among the Muslims there is a sense of justice which is not always found among their local rulers. On the other hand we had good reason to fear that under the Government of the Muslims who are the bitter enemies of the Christians' name, the Mission would suffer a set back. But Providence decided otherwise for the war was followed by a general famine caused by the flight of the inhabitants from a country ruined by the enemy, and by the failure of the monsoon when rain was most needed. Not only did the Muslims suffer from lack of provisions as much as the Hindu peasants but they lost a considerable number of men and horses. The mortality was so great that corpses were heaped up in huge piles, and the Muslims finding it difficult to obtain reinforcements from the North, thought it would be rash on their part if they attempted to keep a conquest which they could not defend, specially when, to add to their trouble, their generals were at loggerheads with their commander-in-chief.

The latter being in such a situation pretended to grant as a favour concessions which were imposed on him by necessity. He told the Nâyaks that if they would pay the tribute of the last three years which was due to him, he promised that on receiving it he would leave the country. But the Nâyaks considering that they had everything to gain by delaying payment, refused to comply with his demand. The Nâyak of Tanjore who has nothing to lose and nothing to give, since his kingdom is in the hands of the Muslims and his treasure in those of the Kallans, is, of course, anxious to get rid of the enemy, but while waiting for an opportunity to do so, he is quite content to live in a corner of his kingdom where on account of the dense jungle the cavalry of the enemy cannot penetrate.

The Nâyak of Madurai has placed his confidence in the fortress of Tiruchirapalli situated on the frontier, which being strongly fortified and well garrisoned cannot be taken by the enemy without great loss of time, of men and money, for in addition to the exceptional strength of that fortress due to its strong walls and the breadth of its ditch, it is defended by Lingamma Nâyak, a famous captain who has served valiantly under the Nâyak of Jinji. It is true his loyalty is not on a par with his prudence and valour, but on that occasion he was faithful to his master though his fidelity was put to a severe test by the treason of some of his companions. With the two hundred thousand patacas he could dispose of and the ten thousand men of the garrison, without counting the other soldiers he had brought into the town, he defended it successfully.

At the beginning of December 1659 Mula, the Bijapur General decided to lay siege to the town and give the assault with the best troops in his army, though he chiefly relied on the secret intelligence he had with certain traitors within the walls who had entered into negotiations with him. However when he arrived before the town he soon realized the hopelessness of such an enterprise for the guards and the sentries were watching more carefully than at Tanjore. After some reverses inflicted on his men by the cannon of the fortress, he had to retire and content himself with some acts of hostility against the neighbouring villages. But these operations were not so lucrative as to enable him to meet the expenses of his army. Moreover the Kallans inflicted on him heavy losses, by stealing from him a large number of horses. He therefore tried again to come to an agreement with the Nâyak. Both sides were equally strong and equally eager to secure peace, but as the Muslims would not go before receiving their money, and the Nâyak would not pay before they had left the country, little progress was made. Finally they agreed on a small sum, half of which would be paid at once to the Muslims, while the other half would be paid later. In May 1660 everything being settled the Muslims went away[1] leaving these kingdoms of which they had been masters during two years.

Muttu Vīrappa who had succeeded old Tirumala Nâyak was then ruling. At the beginning of his reign he had shown himself a better soldier than his father, but his excessive fondness for women soon made him the slave of his lust and he fell a victim to those infirmities which are the usual consequence of dissolute living, and he died before completing the first year of his reign.

His son Chokkanâtha Nâyak[2] aged sixteen succeeded him, and is our present ruler (1660-1682). At the time of his accession all the power had passed into the hands of two ministers. One of them was a capable Brahmin of long experience and highly respected as the holder of the highest spiritual dignity. To him were referred the most important affairs of the State, such as the treaties and alliances with the neighbouring Princes. The other was a State Secretary who had served in that capacity under the old King, whose favourites both of them had been. During the rule of Muttu Virappa, these two had gradually usurped most of the power, and after becoming complete masters of the Government, they sought to keep their power by throwing into prison or sending into exile all the captains and lords who did not share their views.

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[1] The credit for Mula's discomfiture under the walls of Tiruchirapalli in December 1659 mentioned above, and his withdrawl from the South in May 1660 is given to Muttu Vīrappa III by S. H. N. M. According to this interpretation, Muttu Vīrappa would have died after May 1660, not in 1659.

[2] Proença calls him Sivalinga Nâyak.

After establishing his government on that solid basis the Brahmin undertook a most difficult task; it was nothing less than putting back the Raja at the head of his empire, and the Nâyak of Jinji on his throne, and restoring the good old order all round. The passes through which the Muslim had come to subjugate the people of South India were to be closed once for all, and all the calamities brought about by Tirumala Nâyak's policy were to be wiped away. The task was not beyond the Brahmin's ability for his wisdom, for which he was esteemed and revered by all, suggested to him the means of achieving whatever he undertook. Moreover as he appeared bent on procuring the public good, he easily secured public approval and received all the cooperation he needed. But the goddess of fortune whose fickleness is proverbial suddenly withdrew her support from the Brahmin and his colleague, so that they fell before their plans could be carried out.

The wheel began to turn back when the Nâyak arrived from Madurai to Tiruchirapalli accompanied by his whole court and the King of Tanjore who had gone to Madurai to ask for financial help and supplies. Beginning the execution of his design the Brahmin sent Lingamma Nâyak in the kingdom of Jinji to attack Sahji who, relying on the extent of his dominions and his treasures, opposed the restoration of the Râya. Lingamma Nâyak took the field with 40,000 men, with orders to defeat Sahji and march against Jinji. But though he could have easily carried out the orders he had received, Lingamma did not care to do so. On the contrary he gave the enemy time to flee, and squandered most of the funds entrusted to him. While he held the field with his army the two Ministers exercised full power in the town. The King felt with great indignation that his royal freedom had been curtailed and that he had become a slave in a palace which had been turned into a prison.

The Ministers' boldness went so far that after throwing into prison the King's favourite servant, the Secretary appointed to the post a low individual who was better suited to his own purpose. The insolence and cupidity of that man soon suggested to him the idea of usurping the throne. However when he told the Brahmins and Lingamma Nâyak of his design the latter while agreeing to depose the King whom they found none too docile, proposed to put in his place one of his younger brothers so that they might easily govern under his name. Finally they came to the decision that the King should be kept in the palace as in a prison without ever allowing him to go out. This plan came somehow to the knowledge of some of the loyal courtiers who raised a protest. But the conspirators assured them that they had no other end in view, than the King's honour; if they controlled his relations with outsiders it was lest, by such frequent contacts, he should be led into vices which might ruin his health as had happened with his father. This answer failed to convince anyone for it was evident it concealed some ulterior motive.

However no one had the courage to speak out his mind, for the first captains and the most prominent nobles of the kingdom who were loyal to the King were either in prison or had been dismissed from office, or sent out far away under the pretext of royal service. Moreover the *coup d'état* which was being planned could not take effect without the consent of the King for whose sake it was organized. That consent could not be obtained now except through the Secretary who blocked every access to the King. But as traitors always come to a bad end and Providence is always on the side of justice, it happened that the King on the advice of some ancient matrons who were well acquainted with the affairs of the palace, summed up courage and decided to act. Through a washer woman he found means of communicating with two of his most loyal captains, who secretly collected a troop of soldiers and at the moment when the traitors least expected it, the Secretary was stabbed to death in the palace and his body cut to pieces was thrown on the public square, to the great joy of the people for the man was hated by everybody. This happened on the 27th of June 1662. The Brahmin was thrown into prison and soon after his eyes were put out, for whatever be the crime committed by a Brahmin even high treason, this is the only punishment which can be inflicted on him, for in this country killing a Brahmin is considered as an inexpiable crime. Both the traitors being thus punished, the captains who had been dismissed were reinstated, the prisoners were set free, the exiles were recalled, and the King overcame all his enemies. This was the first time that he became conscious of his authority and had occasion to assert it.

Lingamma Nâyak alone was left unpunished, for he had taken the field at the head of his army. After mature deliberation it was decided it would be more prudent not to chastise him. In the letters he wrote to him the Nâyak gave him every mark of friendship and kindness, and treated him as one of his favourites. When he returned to Tiruchirapalli he was received by the Nâyak with all the honours and marks of consideration which could re-assure him. After some time, however, an attempt was made to put him in prison, but it was not found possible for Lingamma Nâyak having a guilty conscience, was very suspicious and acted with extreme circumspection. Therefore he withdrew into a sort of fortress which was separated from the rest of the town by a high wall. The place was besieged but as he had more experience in the art of war than his enemies, he escaped easily during night with some of his best soldiers, and taking away with him the most precious part of his treasure he sought refuge with Sahji whom we have mentioned above. These two great captains were at the head of 12,000 infantry and 700 cavalry. The war again flared up, the country was plundered, the inhabitants fled away and confusion prevailed on all sides.

It was harvest time, and though a large part of the crops had been gathered in, much was still left in the fields which the enemies, after taking what they needed for a few days, completely destroyed. Twice they attacked the Nâyak whose army encamped in front of the town gates, was protected by the guns on the ramparts. After wasting two months facing each other and doing nothing, both parties agreed to come to terms. The enemy could boast that they had besieged the King, who after gathering 10,000 men[3] contented himself with remaining on the defensive. Finally the King complied with the demands of Lingamma Nâyak and took him back in his service. A Brahmin who had succeeded the one who had been blinded, conducted the negotiations for the King, but even though peace was made, and the former good relations were resumed, a secret hatred remained rankling in the hearts on both sides, so that neither trusted the other, and each one prepared himself for the future by enlisting soldiers in view of the inevitable conflict.

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[3] S. H. M. N., p. 156, has 50,000.

As the second Brahmin was more wicked and perverse than the first he took pretext of various expeditions to send away from the court the best captains in the King's army, but he saw to it that being suddenly attacked by the enemy the chief of them was killed and the others made prisoners. Then the Brahmin throwing off the mask marched openly against the town as a declared enemy. At the sight of such boldness and insolence, the King took the resolution never to trust a Brahmin again. Young as he was he inaugurated a period of personal rule, and took over the direct command of the army, with all these changes Lingamma Nâyak lost every hope of ever recovering his former position in Madurai and offered his services to the King of Tanjore, who in the previous wars had always helped him with men and money.

The King of Madurai left Lingamma Nâyak alone and putting himself at the head of more than 10,000 men marched against the Nâyak of Tanjore who had with him the two most famous generals of that time, Sahji and Lingamma Nâyak. The King commanded his army like an experienced general grown grey under the harness. He is feared on account of the justice and uprightness of his government, and highly respected by all who hear of his valour and prudence. Because of this reputation his enemies themselves are eager to join his army, and serve under a Prince endowed with so much talent and striking qualities. The King of Tanjore himself realizing all this deemed it better for him to accept the conditions laid down by the Nâyak of Madurai and join his arm with his to make a combined attack against the Muslims who with a new army are coming again to invade this country (9th September 1663).

II

(Proença's letter of the 14th of August 1666)

In my last letter, I mentioned the disturbances and fears caused in these kingdoms by an impending Muslim invasion. The miserable condition to which these poor people had been reduced on two different occasions by the Muslim invaders increased their apprehension of the misfortunes which might be in store for them. However the valour and power of their King, Chokkanâtha Nâyak, a young and valient warrior, reassured them to some extent.

The Muslims' army commanded by Vanamiam, one of the most renowned generals of Bijapur, arrived at the beginning of 1663. As the town of Tiruchirapalli is the most important in these kingdoms on account of its site, its fortification, the presence of the royal court, and its situation on the frontier, the enemies encamped under its walls. Their object was to frighten the King by their threats and the display of their forces, but though they gave several assaults, they achieved nothing. The most important of their attack was delivered on the 11th of April on two places at the same time. While they were fighting on one side they plundered on the other, but all this took place in the suburbs and they never reached the city wall. Towards noon the enemy retired leaving some dead on the battle-field, but carrying away with them a good deal of plunder, for they had swooped down on a part of the suburbs where they were least expected, and took the inhabitants by surprise. They carried away whatever they found in our church and in our houses. It was with great difficulty that I escaped for, either because they wanted to take into slavery some Christians' children who were with me, or because they sought to get possession of a brass vessel, which they thought was gold, some horsemen got on my track, and they would certainly have overtaken me but for a bombshell which falling in front of them compelled them to retreat.

Finally, the enemy seeing that neither by assault nor by a protracted siege, they could take the fortress, began to plunder the villages around Tiruchirapalli on a radius of 10 or 12 leagues. The ravage was frightful, but as our high caste people deem it the greatest insult to become the captives of that race which they despise, many committed suicide and killed their wives and children rather than let them fall in the hands of the Muslims.

There was a village where the men, after slaughtering all their own people and cattle, committed suicide. In another the high caste women having taken refuge in a group of houses set fire to it and more than four hundred of them were burnt alive. The only one who escaped in that large crowd was a christian woman. By a sort of miracle she and her grandson were saved from the flames by the great number of corpses that fell over them. The boy though badly burnt recovered. The Catechist Gaudentius considers as a great blessing of God that in the same village and the same occasion his only son of whom he is extremely fond was saved. He is a fine boy whose handsome looks and amiable character win the affection of all who see him. A Muslim had taken hold of him and had already removed his earrings, when seeing another boy who was running away, he let go the Catechist's son to run after the other, with the result that both his intended victims escaped.

Rich with plunder, which was what they mostly desired, the Muslims realizing they could not capture Tiruchirapalli offered the following terms to the Nâyak. He must pay the amount corresponding to the tribute due for the last three years, but that sum was divided into three parts. The first had to be paid down at once, the second was to be deducted as a compensation for the plunder, and the third which consisted largely in hopes and promises was to be paid later on, at some fixed time. Finally they went away, and by the beginning of June the country was rid of them.

Having got rid of the Bijâpûris, the Nâyak of Madurai turned against his neighbour of Tanjore to punish him for his past treasons, and the alliance he had made with the Muslims in the present war. Assembling a fine army he set out for Tanjore on the 22nd of July 1663 and pitched his camp to the South of the town. After delivering several assaults in which the artillery on both sides played its part without causing great damage because both lacked the skill and experience required for the formation of batteries, he sent a large detachment to attack the fortress of Velatucotey (Vallam) whose site and fortifications I described in a previous letter. The fort is considered as the key and the defence of Tanjore, and owns lands valued at more than a lakh of cruzados. It was much coveted by the Nâyak of Madurai who was more eager to take it than the town of Tanjore which demanded a greater display of forces. To guard himself against attacks by enemy reinforcement he had camped to the south near Vallam. After a siege of three months the fort surrendered in October, and the Madurai Nâyak, satisfied with this conquest, made peace with that of Tanjore, who had to accept the conditions the conqueror was pleased to dictate.

The Tanjore expedition being over, the Nâyak finding himself at the head of a well-equipped and victorious army decided to attack his vassal the King of the Maravans, who of late had shown a good deal of insolence and lack of loyalty by annexing against his suzerain's wishes both during the Bijâpûr invasion and the Tanjore campaign territory belonging to Vijayarâghava. Again the Nâyak insisted on commanding his army in person, for even his best captains did not inspire him with great confidence, and he seems to have had a presentiment of the disastrous issue of that war. He took the field for the third time in the month of December, with eight thousand horses and nearly twenty thousand infantry. He first laid siege to Tirupattur, which surrendered in the following month of April (1664) and a few days later he took Pudukottey, Mânamadurai and other less important fortresses. Then plunging into the interior of the country he laid siege to Kâlaiyârkôvil which fell in its turn, but not before the Maravan had made his escape into the jungle with most of his artillery.

Annoyed by the prolongation of the campaign, and perhaps unwilling to witness a disaster which he felt to be inevitable, the Nâyak did not proceed further into the Marava country. For the more he advanced the more difficult it became to obtain supplies and reinforcements. He therefore took pretext of certain marriage ceremonies he had to perform in connection with his brother's marriage, which according to his auguries could no longer be delayed, to return to Madurai. In his absence, and probably on account of it, his army met with a series of reverses, for most of his captains were more or less in collusion with his enemy. His army itself is mostly officered by foreign captains whose regiments and companies were their own property, and under their direct command. They take service under the Prince who pays them most, but during the campaign they command their troops more or less as they please, and act so independently that it is very difficult to carry out any strategy. On the other hand it is almost impossible to chastise acts of treason. The King himself cannot punish a simple soldier who serves under those foreign captains.

To this lack of loyalty on the part of the captains, must be added the physical nature of the Marava country, which is all covered with dense forests, where the Badagas cannot fight nor deploy their cavalry. To punish the inefficiency of the soldiers, who knew not how to hold a post, besiege a fort or prepare an ambush, and in spite of their dangerous position were careless in keeping watch not only during night but even during the day, he cut down their pay and thus created discontent. On the other hand all the above qualities in which the Madureans are lacking are found among the Maravans. First of all their chief keeps up their courage by paying them liberally and recognizing their exploits by rich rewards. They are well acquainted with the localities in which they fight, and are experts in guerilla warfare. Therefore on various occasions they inflicted severe losses on the royal army. In March 1665 they recovered Kāḷaiyârkôvil, then Mânâmadura, and a great number of Badagas perished by the sword, famine or diseases. The Nâyak was greatly distressed by those reverses, on account of the reputation he had enjoyed which was now being ruined. Seeing that this war with his vassal disgraced him in the eyes of the neighbouring Princes, he gave it up, and finally returned to Tiruchirapalli where he now resides.

As for the Maravan, in spite of the loss of a few fortresses, and of the territories he had annexed from Tanjore, he is more insolent and prouder than ever. While the Nâyak of Madurai was immersed in the anxieties caused by the war, the one of Tanjore was so free from all worries that he decided to perform the ceremony of rebirth (*Hiranyagarbham*). He had an enormous cow made of gold at great cost[4] and having entered into it, after various ceremonies, he arranged that this fantastic beast should beget another, but a real one. Then the Guru's wife received him, nursed him, warmed him, as if he had been a child, and no circumstance concerning little children was omitted. It was amusing to see that old man whimpering on the bosom of her who fulfilled a mother's function, while she appeased and caressed him, as if he had been a child born on that same day. Some add that she even gave him the breast. But although I am convinced that several details are unauthentic it is certain that such an event to attack his vassal the King of the Maravans, who of late had shown a good deal of insolence and lack of loyalty by annexing against his suzerain's wishes both during the Bijâpûr invasion and the Tanjore campaign territory belonging to Vijayarâghava. Again the Nâyak insisted on commanding his army in person, for even his best captains did not inspire him with great confidence, and he seems to have had a presentiment of the disastrous issue of that war. He took the field for the third time in the month of December, with eight thousand horses and nearly twenty thousand infantry. He first laid siege to Tirupattur, which surrendered in the following month of April (1664) and a few days later he took Pudukottey, Mânamadurai and other less important fortresses. Then plunging into the interior of the country he laid siege to Kâlaiyârkôvil which fell in its turn, but not before the Maravan had made his escape into the jungle with most of his artillery.

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[4] Concerning this ceremony see, the *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency* 1891 Vol. III, p. 143. According to *The Ramnad Manual* 1889, p. 321 and "*The Sethu and Rameswaram*" by N. Vanamamalai Pillai, 1929, p. 117 the *Hiranya garbha yagam* was also performed by Tirumala Sethupathi (1647-1672); see also S. T. p. 51, Kane: *History of Dharmasâstra*, Vol. II, Part II, 1941, pp. 872-873.

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The Nâyak of Madurai was much amused by the rebirth of his grandfather, as he calls the Nâyak of Tanjore, either because Vijayarâghava is old enough to be his grandfather, or because his chief wife is the sister of the old King (Tirumalai Nâyak), grandfather of the present Nâyak of Madurai. While this young Nâyak of twenty-two plays the man, the Nâyak of Tanjore who is sixty, behaves like a baby. But it was in vain that Vijayarâghava tried to rejuvenate himself, he remained the same as he was before. If any one was rejuvenated it was the Brahmins, thanks to the rich presents which the blessing of that new cow procured for them. It is by such inventions that they live and govern in Tanjore.

This is a summary of the political events which took place in these parts during the last three years. I write these things because they are landmarks in our history and help us to mark the course of years, rather than on account of the pleasure you may find in reading the stories of Princes who are practically unknown in Europe.

Except for the troubles mentioned above these countries were relatively more peaceful than in the previous years when famine and the Muslims devastated the country. But although, as far as war and famine are concerned, they may be called happy years and the inhabitants are permitted to breathe more freely, those who have known former or even comparatively recent times cannot help deploring and regretting the decay of these kingdoms as regards fertility, wealth, justice and other things which men call *Good Fortune*.

In a word these kingdoms, as the rest of the world, are visibly decaying. Leaving the causes of their misfortunes the God's judgment we may still ask, and not without anxiety when these miseries will end.

The Editor regrets to record that Fr. A. Saulier, the author of this series, was suddenly called to his heavenly reward on 6th November, 1966. May his soul rest in eternal peace!

The Silver Question: India and America

BY

DWIJENDRA TRIPATHI, M.A., PH.D.

"At the present moment," wrote an Indian economist in 1897, "the two countries which are most vitally concerned in the solution of the silver question are the United States and India."[1] The problem affected not only these two countries; the fate of world commerce depended on its solution. Circumstances in the United States, however, influenced the currency developments in India, and *vice versa*. It is intended here to bring these reciprocal effects out of a maze of facts.

The broad facts of the silver question are well known.[2] Till 1871, almost the whole world was bimetallic. In December of that year, Germany, having squeezed a war indemnity of $1,000,000,000 from France, demonetized silver and ordered the establishment of gold standard. Within two years, it offered its silver for sale in the markets of London with the purpose of exchanging it for gold. As a result, the English bullion brokers sent the German silver to the French mints which were open to the free coinage of both gold and silver at the ratio of 15-1/2 to 1. The gold obtained in France for the German silver was sent to London and exchanged once more for German silver.

This circular process caused a heavy drain on gold in France. Alarmed by the situation, the government of that country virtually suspended the coinage of silver. Following this, the United States Congress passed in February, 1873, an Act "revising and amending the laws relative to the mints, assay offices, and coinage of the United States." The seventh section of this law deprived silver of its right of being coined into full legal tender money on either government or private accounts. The measure attracted little notice in Congress and the country as its significance was not immediately clear. As paper money was the actual currency, a coinage act did little to afflict the popular mind. Such was the general ignorance that even President Ulysses S. Grant, whose signature put the law on the statute books, wondered several months after its passage, "that silver is not already coming into the market to supply the deficiency in the circulating medium."[3]

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[1] A. S. Ghosh, "India's Case for Silver," *North American Review* (1897), CLXV, 477.

[2] These facts can be known from any text book. This author has drawn on David Rich Dewey, *Financial History of the United States* (New York, Longmans Green and Company, 1920) and D. Barbour, *The Theory of Bimetallism and the Effects of the Partial Demonetisation of Silver on England and India* (London, Cassell & Company, 1885).

The Act of 1873 was really a recognition of the existing conditions. The silver dollar had been substantially out of circulation for nearly twenty years and by suspending its coinage, the Act apparently introduced no new element into the currency situation. But the legal recognition of the silver dollar before 1873 served as a sure support against any considerable rise in gold. It bore a premium of only three per cent, and if coin payments had been resumed, gold could not have risen more than three per cent without bringing the silver dollar into immediate use. By demonetizing silver, the new arrangement made a heavy demand on gold for use as money. At a time, when the gold supply in the world was more or less static,[4] the Act gave an impetus to the appreciation of gold, causing a fall in prices.

The evils of the demonetizing law were mitigated partially by the Bland Act of 1878 which required the government to purchase and coin at least $2,000,000 worth of silver each month, and restored silver to its legal tender power. Provision was also made for the issue of silver certificates upon deposit of silver dollars in denominations not less than ten dollars. This act was in force until 1890 when it was superseded by the Sherman Act which authorized the Secretary of Treasury to purchase $4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion each month and to issue in payment thereof treasury notes of full legal tender. The essential difference between this act and that of 1878 were: increase in the monthly purchase of silver; treasury notes to be full instead of partial legal tender, as in the case of silver certificates; redemption of treasury notes either in gold or silver coin at the discretion of the Secretary of Treasury.

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[3] House of Representatives, *Report of the Silver Commission of 1876*, House Mis. Doc. No. 396, pt. 1, 49th Congress, I Session, (Washington, D.C., 1887), 89.

[4] For figures see *The National Bimetallist* (Chicago, March 11, 1892), 333.

These measures proved half-way remedies. By providing for the purchase of a considerable amount of silver, they did prevent a sudden contraction of the volume of money available. But by refusing to admit free coinage of silver they failed to increase the money supply so as to meet the demands of a rapidly increasing population. Besides, the adoption of gold standard by European countries threw much of the silver into disuse at a time when the world supply of the white metal was constantly increasing.[5] The cumulative effect of these factors was a steep decline in the value of silver in terms of gold, and with that a fall in silver currency.

The Indian rupee, being a silver coin, experienced this fate. In 1871 the rupee was worth 23½/d.; in 1878 it had fallen to 19¾/d., and by 1892 it was reduced to 14·9d. But the depreciation in currency did not result in the rise of prices in India. As noted by the Royal Gold and Silver Commission of 1886, the prices in the silver currency countries till the close of that year had fallen 30 per cent at an average from the gold base and silver measured in gold had declined at a rate almost exactly equal.[6] Thus, the exchange value of silver had remained almost constant, for silver and commodities had not changed in their relations to each other. That is, an ounce of silver could be exchanged for the same quantity of goods as before. The purchasing power of silver in India was unaffected while gold was at a high premium.

This added to the advantages of India in its export trade. When silver dropped in the London market, it was to the advantage of the English importer to buy in India rather than the United States. With a certain number of pounds sterling he could buy more rupees than before and with each rupee, he could get as much goods in India as he could before silver was demonetized.

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[5] *Ibid.*, 333.

[6] House of Commons, *Second Report of the Royal Commission appointed to enquire into the changes in the relative values of Precious Metals* (London, 1888), 72.

Thus, he could sell his goods more cheaply than the importer from the United States, who had to pay for his consignments in gold.

This was repeatedly pointed out by the American bimetallists and agrarians as an argument against gold monometallism. "In exporting to gold standard countries", wrote Wharton Barker, the editor of the *American* in 1896, "the Indian wheat grower .... has enjoyed and is enjoying a very considerable bounty — gold as measured by the rupee being at a premium of over sixty per cent."[7] Replying to the argument that the increased Indian export was due to improved transportation in that country and the opening of the Suez Canal, the National *Bimetallist* compared the figures of the Indian and the American exports to Europe, and pointed out that the demand for Indian wheat in Europe rose from 13 million bushels in 1881 to 50 million bushels in 1891 while that for the American produce fell from 150 million bushels to 55 million bushels. "It is perfectly obvious", the paper concluded, "that there must have been some other cause than railroad building and completion of the Suez Canal. The cause has been the difference between gold values and silver values, stimulating the exports, not only of India but of Argentine and other countries having currency cheaper than gold."[8] The *Bimetallist* also attributed the rising export of Indian cotton to the same fact.[9]

The currency situation gave a fillip to the Indian manufacturing. Since the purchase of goods involved a conversion of Indian silver into gold at a loss, the Indian began to manufacture for himself. The same considerations induced the investment of British capital in the Indian cotton mills, for a given number of sovereigns could buy a greater number of rupees, and each rupee did as much work as it ever did in India. As a result of this encouragement, the total number of spindles in Bombay rose from 450,000 in 1873 to 4,000,000 at the close of 1894.[10] This enabled India not only to meet a considerable portion of its own demand for cotton goods but also to capture markets in China and Japan. The consumption of British goods in these countries remained stationary.

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[7] Wharton Barker, *Bimetallism* (Philadelphia, Barker Publishing Co., 1896), 146.

[8] *The National Bimetallist, March* 11, 1892, 327.

[9] *Ibid.*, 315.

[10] *Ibid.*, 315.

From the American point of view, this development had two effects—both adverse. The American exports to these countries suffered a setback. It was also feared that the English and European manufacturers, frustrated in their efforts to expand markets in the silver using countries of Asia, might look to the United States for the consumption of their goods.[11] The currency situation, thus, lengthened the shadow of Indian danger to the farming and manufacturing interests of the United States.

From the Indian point of view, however, silver posed a different problem. The government of India had to remit large sums of money annually to England for the home charges, and its remittance in gold meant an increasing amount in silver, as the latter fell in value. This the Government of India considered an additional tax on the people of that country. The remedy was a reduction of the home charges, but the Viceroy, Lord Lytton, in 1878 proposed to raise artificially the value of the rupee. Only half way steps were taken to achieve the objective. The fall in the rupee continued.

The Indian authorities attributed their failure to some of the circumstances prevailing in the United States. In 1886, the Viceroy thought that the uncertainty regarding the policy of the United States was an important cause of anxiety. Later, he explicitly stated that the fall in the price of the rupee was due to speculation in America regarding the repeal or modification of the Bland Act.[12] Therefore the government of India urged the British government to enter into some arrangement with the United States before the International Monetary Conference at Brussels in 1892.[13] The British government ignored the suggestion, and nothing came of the deliberations at Brussels. All attempts to arrest the fall in the rupee ended in frustration.

[11] Wharton Barker, *Bimetallism*, 110.

[12] Telegram of the Indian Viceroy dated January 12, 1886, and February 6, 1886, quoted in Romesh Dutt, *Th Eeconomic History of India in the Victorian Age* (London, 1956), 582.

[13] A. S. Ghosh, "India's Case for Silver," 478.

It was imperative to reopen the whole question of silver. The British Parliament, therefore, referred the problem of Indian currency to a committee under the Chairmanship of Lord Herschell, then the Lord Chancellor. The report of the Committee, published in May, 1893, evoked considerable interest in the United States where it was published as a Senate Document.[14] On the recommendation of the Committee, the Indian mints were closed in June, 1893. It is interesting that Lord Herschell based his conclusion, among other things, on a fear that the repeal of the Sherman Act in the United States might throw an enormous amount of silver into the market and thus, lead to a further fall in the value of the rupee. He wrote:

> .... a strong agitation exists in the United States with respect to the law now in force providing for the purchase of silver. Fears have been and are entertained that there may come to be a premium on gold, and strong pressure has been brought to bear upon the government of that country with a view to bring about an alternation of that law. In December last, a bill was introduced in the Senate to suspend the Sherman Act, and another to suspend the purchase under it. Whether any such measure will pass into law, it is impossible to foretell, but it must be regarded as possible; and although in the light of past experience, predictions on such a subject must be made with caution, it is certainly probable that the repeal of the Sherman Act would be followed with a heavy fall in the price of silver.[15]

The closing of the Indian mints had immediate effects on the United States. Within forty-eight hours of the announcement of the Indian authorities[16] silver fell in New York market from 82 cents to 60 cents per ounce, and all the silver mines in the United States were closed,[17] heralding the monetary panic of 1893.

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[14] U.S. Congress, *Index to the Congressional Record* containing the proceedings of the 53rd Congress, I Session (Washington D.C., 1893), 126.

[15] House of Commons, *Report of the Committee Appointed to Enquire into the Indian Currency* (London, 1893), 9.

[16] The Indian authorities were only a stooge in the hands of the British government, and they had to follow the dictates of the government at home. Since the former had no freedom of action, Indian authorities and British government have been used interchangeably in this paper.

[17] Ritchie to Butterworth, March 2, 1896, U.S. Senate Doc. No. 235, 54th Congress, I Session (1896) 11.

Speaking in the House of Representatives Richard P. Bland of Missouri testified to the situation:

> While there was some alarm in the country before, yet the moment the British government demonetized silver in India, then the panic began in earnest—not before; that precipitated this panic in its present shape. We all understand that. In this way, desolation was brought into many of the States of this Union and men who had before been prosperous and happy were by the thousands sent as tramps throughout the land.[18]

Samuel J. Ricchie, an influential businessman of Akron, Ohio, agreed that following the order of the Indian government "commenced the march of an army of tramps such as this country has never known".[19]

Four days (only three days counting the difference in time between the United States and India) after the closure of the Indian mints, the President of the United States issued a proclamation convening an extra session of Congress to consider the repeal of the Sherman Act. The measure had failed to raise the silver to "par", that is, to the price of $1.29 an ounce so that the market value could correspond to the coinage value.[20] Since the Treasury notes were full legal tender redeemable either in gold or silver, the provisions of the Act were rseponsible for a heavy drain of gold from the Treasury. For some time past, therefore the friends of the gold standard had been trying to get law abolished. The action of the Indian government added to the urgency.

Pointing this out, Representative Michael D. Harter of Ohio demanded that Congress "strike down the monstrous theory that we are to be compelled to pay the mine owner, one dollar and twenty-nine cents for what is or was worth sixty-two cents only a few days ago".[21] Even those who thought the impact of the Indian situation was exaggerated were willing to concede, as did Representative John De Witt Warner of New York, that it hastened and worsened the American crisis. "It is a fact", he declared in the House, "that within the last few weeks by the act of that government which rules her destiny, India has been withdrawn from the task (of sustaining the silver standard). Since that time, we have staggered worse and worse toward what seems an inevitable fall. If we attempt to carry that burden alone, such will be our fate."[22] In the Senate David Hill of New York echoed the same sentiments:

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[18] U.S. Congress, *Congressional Record*, 53rd Congress, I Session (1893).
[19] Ritchie to Butterworth, March 2, 1896.
[20] F. W. Taussing, *The Silver Situation in the United States* (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1896), 51.
[21] Congressional Record, XXV. 265.

> Arguments for the simple, easy remedy so lately within our reach are now an anachronism. Only a little while ago, it was possible, while free silver coinage was upheld in India to commit to the newly chosen President of great people, united in this behalf, by voting to substitute for the Sherman law a free bimetallic coinage law, the renewal of the general parity of gold and silver and then watchfully strengthening our servant's hands at every vicissitude of that endeavor. Today such a task, even if not rejected by an Executive Veto, would, I fear, strain and snap the most cordially united efforts of Congress and the Executive."[23]

The above is only a sample of the Congressional opinion. Many members made angry references to Great Britain and connected the American trouble with the closing of the Indian mints. There is no doubt that the demonetization of silver in India "led to, or hastened the repeal of the Sherman Act in America" in November, 1893. Thus within four months, two countries, one being the largest silver producing and the other the largest silver consuming, prohibited the purchase and the coinage of that metal.

This caused great hardships in both the countries. In the United States, the prices fell and the mine owners and the miners became almost destitute. In India, the bullion value of the rupee fell so much as to reduce considerably the difference which previously existed between its face value and bullion value. This hit the manufacturing classes as well as the common man. Since the banking system was undeveloped in India, the people were accustomed to hoarding their savings in the form of ornaments. As a consequence of the closing of the mints, these hoards could be sold at 3/5th of their face value or at a loss of forty per cent. But owing to the grave anxiety about the future of silver, the dealers in India were charging at least an additional ten percent to cover all risks. Hence the total loss to the people of India was fifty per cent of their savings.[24]

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[22] *Ibid.*, 324.
[23] *Ibid.*, 867.

Under these conditions, the interests of the United States and India warranted the reopening of Indian mints. This would open the door for greater consumption of the silver produced by the western states of America, and would also increase the value of the silver hoards in India. The Indian economic circles felt that a policy of bimetallism in the United States might force the British Government to remonetize silver in India in order to prevent a flow of silver from that country to the United States. A considerable section of population in both these countries looked with hope at the presidential election of 1896. William J. Bryan, who ran on a silver platform, had active support of the silver states and the moral support of the Indian economic circles.[25]

With the defeat of Bryan, the hopes of India vanished. A country the future of which depended on what served the interests of the British government could hardly carry on any effective agitation. The silver interests in the United States, however, continued their efforts to get the Indian mints reopened. Their leader and chief spokesman in Congress was Senator Edward the currency problem of the world. William McKinley, who had Oliver Wolcott, who favoured an international agreement to solve been voted to the presidency in 1896 on a gold standard platform, had little hope of any cooperation from England. In order to placate public opinion in the silver states, however, he despatched Wolcott to Europe in 1896 on an unofficial mission to explore the possibilities of a joint action.[26]

In the meantime, Congress appointed a Bimetallic Commission in 1897. Senator Wolcott was its chairman with Senator Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois and General Charles J. Paine of

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[24] *Ibid.*, 479.

[25] *Ibid.*, 486.

[26] Thomas Fulton Dawson, *Life and Character of Edward Oliver Wolcott* (privately printed, no date), 654.

Massachusetts as members. All of these were men of pronounced bimetallic views. Their mission evoked considerable hope in India, for their main proposal was to reopen the Indian mints.[27] France needed little persuasion, but Britain, being a creditor nation with a gold standard, had little interest in raising the value of silver. An appreciation of gold was to its advantage. To sidetrack the issue, therefore, the British government referred the question to the Indian authorities for their advice. Senator Wolcott and his colleagues considered it a mere formality. To their great surprise, however, the Government of India rejected the proposal. The Commission's efforts proved abortive.[28]

It is needless to go into details of the reasons that prompted the Indian rejection. What is important from the point of view of this study is that the helpless economic circles of India still looked to the United States for some step that might force the British government to relent. Before Wolcott's failure was announced, a professor of economics at Calcutta University had written:

> If she (England) comes to block the way, if Senator Wolcott fails, and the Indian mints remained unopened, then the last hope of India must lie in Mr. Bryan. If three years hence, his efforts are crowned with success.....he will perhaps find the gold worshippers of Europe headed by England waiting in trepidation in his antechamber to entreat an international agreement. That will be the hour of his triumph and in the anticipation of it, the 300,000,000 of India will wish him God-speed with all the power of their stricken hearts.[29]

The hour of Bryan's triumph never came. With the discovery of gold in Alaska and Australia at the turn of the century, prices rose in the United States and prosperity returned, relegating the silver question to the background. At the same time a stubborn British government, unmindful of the woes of its Indian subjects, imposed on them a gold exchange standard. The champions of silver in both countries conceded defeat.

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27. *Ibid.*, 666.
28. *Ibid.*, 679.
29. A. S. Ghosh, "India's Case for Silver," 486.

Slaves and Serfs in Mediaeval Cambodia (Circa 400-1300 A.D.)

BY

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In my Paper on *Some Aspects of Feudalism in Cambodia* (submitted to the Twenty-sixth Session of the International Congress of Orientalists, held at Delhi, in January 1964, and published subsequently in the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Volume XLVII, Rahul Sānkṛtāyana Volume), I have traced the development of feudalism in Cambodia and discussed in brief the position of the slaves and serfs in the society. Some Soviet and Czech scholars also have turned their attention to this aspect of the Cambodian history and Mr. L. Sedov of the Institute of the Peoples of Asia, U.S.S.R., Moscow, has recently published two important papers dealing with the socio-economic history of Cambodia in the Angor period.

Feudalism was a form of socio-economic system throughout the world at a given period of social development in history. The nature of feudalism differed from country to country and from continent to continent. In Europe, the Industrial Revolution destroyed the last vestige of feudalism, but in Asia the system continues even today, its form and nature differing from country to country. So far as Cambodia is concerned, we have at our disposal a vast mass of Sanskrit and Khmer inscriptions. In my aforesaid study, I had confined myself mostly to the Sanskrit texts and here also I have depended mainly on the same though corroborative Khmer texts (in translation) have been consulted as well. Religion played a great part in the daily life of the Cambodian people in the middle ages and the grants, more or less, deal usually with the religious aspect of the question. It is through the study of these grants that we get a glimpse of the social and economic life of the people during our period of review.

In Cambodia we come across with different types of land tenure. The question of the actual ownership of land is not yet very clear. It needs a separate treatise for better treatment. Both the Kings and their favourites issued grants and some of the important officials owed their position to the grace or kindness (*prasāda*) of the rulers. The creation of powerful intermediaries in land, the mode of production, and the system of distribution are points to be reckoned with in Cambodia. In a number of Sanskrit and Khmer inscriptions, we have got the actual details about these things. The slaves and serfs formed an important part of the feudal economy of Cambodia. They seem to have participated in production without any equivalent or appreciative remuneration. A huge surplus was created in the temple or in other properties. The mode of production was, no doubt, primitive but the surplus, thus created, paved the way for a few rich people to grow from more to more. They controlled the economic life-line of the country. The high artistic construction, though rare specimens of art in history, bespeak of the use of forced labour. A critical estimate of the exploitation of the surplus labour, though yet a desideratum, is not within the scope of this paper.

Though the Cambodians were not so much scrupulous with regard to 'purity', the duties of the four *varṇas,* which often changed with the economic status of a man, were observed. The caste system, though apparently in vogue, underwent change in this region. There was an officer known as the Chief of the Castes who had to look to the maintenance of the *varṇa* Law The Brāhmaṇas were divided into two broad classes—worshippers of Śiva or those of the Buddha. They were subdivided into five groups, originating mainly from marriages with lower castes. The Brāhmaṇas sometimes did the same type of work as assigned to the slaves (*RCM*—No. 155). The Kṣatriyas also were divided into five classes. The Śūdras were not despised as impure or untouchable. Men of all castes took to agriculture. In Bali, the higher castes enjoyed the same privileges in the law court as their counterparts in India.

Slaves formed a distinct class in society. As an institution slavery arose out of the following circumstances:—

(i) birth or being born of slave (*Gṛhaja*)
(ii) non-payment of debt or fine (*Daṇḍadāsa*)
(iii) imprisonment in war (*Dhvajahṛta*)

(iv) poverty (*Daridradāsa*)

(v) willing acceptance of the status of a slave (*Bhaktadāsa*).

The civil law of Java throws light on the conditions of the slaves and women. The Javanese civil law permitted a husband to sell his wife. A slave might change his master by purchase, sale, gift, or inheritance. Slaves were regarded as the absolute property of their masters and a master was entitled to the property and issues of slaves. A slave could be given as a pledge. The aristocracy in Cambodia included Kings, nobles and officials enjoying all privileges. The lower orders including the peasants were subjected to inhuman exploitation. The insatiable demand for forced labour and military service on the part of the ruler left the country in a state of impoverishment. The porters, slaves, *bhṛtyas*, garland-makers, water–carriers, and workers of almost all descriptions constituted the gang of galley slaves. The artistic creations of Jayavarmana VII bear testimony to the painful existence of the 'have-nots'. Feudal levies and obligations were not unknown. There were officers in charge of Corvee and slaves. As a result of the nefarious activities of the Chams (Champa), there was influx of slaves among them. Regular slave trade was carried on by the Cham merchants and the slaves formed a prominent element of the population in addition to the aristocracy and commonalty.

We frequently come across with the details of the slaves and serfs in the Kambuja inscriptions, as they were also donated like other articles of gifts. It is thus evident that they were treated as chattels and helots and had practically no social standing. In most cases we have the details of slaves, servants, serfs, their children etc., and their transfer from one master to another. In the feudal economy of Cambodia, this appears to have been a regular feature and these unfortunate persons were employed in all sorts of productive and unproductive humiliating jobs. With no possibility of escape from this drudgery, they had to compromise with the situation though instances of revolts are not few and far between. It is difficult to ascertain whether the State was the vast labour employing machinery or not but it is certain that there was no security for the lower orders against the frequent oppression by their masters, who, practically, controlled the economic life of the land. There was a regular sale and purchase of slaves in Cambodia.

The earliest Khmer inscription (609-611) records the dedication of slaves to the temple of Gambhireśvara.[1] Another Khmer inscription gives us an example of two Princes and a personage in their service who had received from them the same marks of honour.[2] It is interesting to note that very often minor officials also made grants and in one case we find a chief holding the authority of a troop of thousand inhabitants. Slaves were also dedicated to the *Bodhisattvas*.[3] Whenever there was any new assignment, serfs were also donated.[3a] The famous Paṇḍita, Śivakaivalya, is believed to have founded a *Śivaliñga* and assigned it to some serfs. By their conduct and loyalty, the servants sometimes won the appreciation of and rewards from their masters. In one of the Khmer inscriptions we come across a servant named Nāsā who inspired confidence by his good conduct; another servant named Ñādha became the chief of the army.[4] Parallel examples of this type may be given from the histories of other countries. Chivalry and loyalty paid due dividends in feudal society and Cambodia was no exception to this rule. Ñādha received high-sounding titles like *Nṛpendravaya* and *Pṛthvīnarendra*. Those who assisted the King were amply rewarded by the grant of land and other allied privileges. Slaves formed an important part of the royal or feudal donations, both secular and ritualistic. At times a servant was charged by the King to build a rock and other edifices.[5] The inscription of *Prasat Karvan* (921) speaks of a Prince named Mahīdharavarmana as offering serfs from Bhīmapura. He was a partisan of Jayavarmana IV. A confidant is said to have celebrated the foundation by paying homage to the King.[6] Sangrama was rewarded for his prodigies of valour in combat during the time of Jayavarmana V.

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[1] Inscriptions of *Ak Yom* (609) and *Angor Borei* (611).

[2] *Ponhear Hor Inscription.*

[3] Cf.—*Inscription of Vat Prasat.*

[3a] *Inscription of Sdok Ka Thom.*

[4] *Inscription of Preah Vihar* (1).

[5] Briggs—*Ancient Khmer Empire*, p. 126.

[6] *Ibid.*, 131.

The inscriptions of Jayavarmana V bring to light various aspects of the question of feudalism and some of them have been discussed by L. A. Sedov. The donation of land needed scrutiny at several hands. Donations of ornaments were also known. Jayavarmana V also created various new castes.[7] A bilingual inscription records the donation of slaves.[8] Another Khmer inscription of 974 speaks of the donation of land and slaves.[9] The reign of Jayavīravarmana forms a landmark in the history of Cambodian feudalism as most of the inscriptions of his reign are related to the transfer or confirmation of the titles of land. It appears that the germs of feudalism were fully entrenched in the life of the Cambodian people. One Sahadeva, the guardian of sacred property, was holding the hereditary right over a portion of land. His maternal grandfather was a military general and the title to the land in question was acquired by his maternal great grandfather and it had remained in the family ever since. Various fraudulent attempts were made to seize the land but both Jayavarmana V and Jayavīravarmana intervened and the title was confirmed in favour of Sahadeva as is evident from a stele inscription of *Tūol-Prasat* (1003). From a study of this document it appears that it was the King who confirmed the grant finally in favour of Sahadeva and various officials appear to have participated in the presentation of the request. In one case we see that the chief officials of the assembly were called upon to pass on the transfer of land (*BE*-37;-379–413). The stele inscription of *Prasat Trapang Run* (*II*) describes in detail the procedure for the transfer of a piece of land. There were hereditary functionaries and hierarchical officials who continued to work even when there were political convulsions at the top. The sacerdotal class went hand in glove with the royalty. An undated stele inscription of *Tūol Ta Pac*, relates the history of a family of dignitaries in the service of Kings since Jayavarmana II.

Even the Khmer inscriptions on the pillar of *Gopura* of the royal palace contain an oath of fidelity. The text leads us to infer that it was a sort of commendation to the reigning monarch. *Tamvrac* (Lictors, *i.e.,* officials bearing axe and rod) of all categories swore grateful devotion to Sūryavarmadeva in presence of the sacred fire, the holy jewel, the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *ācāryas* and promised not to revere another King. They further pledged (i) to fight and risk life (in case of war), (ii) and to be devoted to the King until death. In return the King was to look to the maintenance and sustenance of their families. Sūryavarmana I seems to have stabilised his power. A Khmer stele inscription at *Phnom Chisor* tells us of the founding of a monastery in 1015 with gifts of slaves and revenue. The transfer of land and revenue is further confirmed by another inscription of the same King (1019). The land granted by Sūryavarmana to the family of Jayendrapaṇḍita was confirmed by Udayādityavarmana II. Four hundred male and female slaves were also donated. When the foundation was completed, the King was informed and requested to see that the establishment and slaves be constituted as gracious liberality in favour of *Śivaliñga* Bhadraniketan and the request was complied with (*Sdok Kak Thom*–1052).

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[7] *Stele Inscription of Kompong-Thom* (dated 974).

[8] Briggs, 142.

[9] *Inscription on the brick temple of Prasat Neak Buos of* 974.

Revolts in the feudal set-up were not unknown. A favourite general named, Kamvau, revloted against Udayādityavarmana II. Barth attributes the revolt to the religious reaction. Kamvau as well as another rebel ultimately came to be subdued by Sangrama who offered the captives and the spoils to the King, Udayādityavarmana II. Moved by the loyalty and fidelity of Sangrama the King said—"All these things which you have conquered, deign to keep them: while they are my treasures, they are certainly yours. What makes me forever happy are the striking proofs of your fidelity and not such riches". Sangrama prevailed upon the King to accept these spoils as a gift to the golden image of *Devarāja* under the vocable of Udayādityeśvara. The feudal lords in a number of cases took advantage of the weakness of the central authority. A son of a vassal King, Jayavarmana, is said to have taken advantage of the weakness of Harṣavarmana III (1080).

A bilingual stele Khmer inscription at *Phnom Chisor* (1116) commemorates a gift of land, slaves and property to the god of the temple of Sūryapavata. A Khmer pillar inscription of *Vat Phu* (1136) records a donation to the god of Lingapur by a man and his son of the country of Bhadreśvarapada, and of the corporation of the workers of the *viṣaya* of Śresthapur.[10] The Angor Vat sculptures also represent feudal elements and if Bosch is to be relied upon, the central tower contained the statue-portrait of the King and nineteen seigneurs. It was under Jayavarmana VII that the Khmer empire reached its zenith and half of the great monuments are credited to him. According to Coedes, his religious zeal surpassed the bounds of all reason and his vanity amounted to megalomania. He impoverished and embittered the people with his tithes and forced labour in building useless monuments to satisfy his personal ambition and that of the feudal seigneurs, as is evident from the towers and pavilions of the Angor sculptures. These were meant to perpetuate their memory. He attempted to grind the people into lowest servility to build up monuments to his relatives and friends. The Angor monument was begun by Suryavarmana II and we learn from the inscription of *Preah Vihar* (IV) that in 1119 he gave order to raise the "corveable workmen of the second, third and probably of the fourth categories". (Cf—*Briggs*, 196). The Angor monuments were built by forced labour and the vast mass of slave-labour. The TAI States supplied a large part of the slave labour. They contributed a lot towards the prosperity of Angor, the rulers of which satisfied their vanity at the cost of people's happiness and pleasure. Here in these admirable structures are depicted the warriors with their raised spears, superb gang of galley slaves, the porters carrying load, horses and elephants and many other aspects of daily life and manners of the people. As a result of the waning influence of theology and the loss of revenue, the popularity of the upper strata diminished. Even after the decline of the classical Khmer civilisation (13th century A.D.), villages and slaves continued to be assigned. With the disappearance of the upper strata of the population and the removal of the capital from Angor, the structures were soon abandoned. Louis Finot has attributed the fall of the Khmer civilisation to the following reasons:— "The suddenness of this catastrophe, at first surprising, is explained by the heterogeneous composition of the Cambodian state......nothing proves that the people reacted strongly against the aggression; perhaps even they saluted it as a deliverance......the conquerors offered to the conquered....economic religion, whose ministers, devoted to poverty, contented themselves with a thatch of straw and a handful of rice."[11] This clearly explains that the high-handedness of the ruling class was responsible for the decline of the Khmer civilisation at a given period when the productive forces were disturbed on account of the lack of peoples' co-operation. In the middle ages all the Cambodian peasantry was in the service of gods and the slaves and villages were granted to the monuments for maintenance. The poor people had lost all genuine interest in the State and the result was disastrous for the country as a whole. The peasantry had so long laboured for the well-being of the upper strata without any considerable return. Hinduism was the cult of the upper classes while the people in general were attached to their animistic cults. At times Manu's law was considerably modified by Buddhism to assuage people's feeling. Religion in Cambodia was one of the main media of economic and political exploitation.

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[10] BE-II(3)-241-45-*Vat Phou.*

The *Cham inscriptions* show that the Burmese as well as Tai slaves were granted to Cham temples. Chou-Ta-Kuan[12] refers to slaves and concubines. He further states that the official rank determined the kind of dwelling. Slaves were purchased for being employed as domestic servants and well-to-do persons had more than one hundred slaves. Kuan says — "Only the very poor have none at all.. They call their master and mistress, father and mother......If a female slave has a child by unknown person, the master does not trouble about the father but treats the child as a slave. If a slave tries to escape and is re-taken, he is marked in blue on the face......the savages coming from the mountains are sold as slaves in the market." He refers to the sale of women and also to the ninety vassal governments. According to this Chinese authority, all the people were obliged to fight.

The whole range of Sanskrit inscriptions is replete with the account of the dedication of slaves and serfs in Cambodia. Their specific duties are not invariably mentioned.[13] The Sanskrit portion of the inscription of Iśānavarmana records the gift of slaves and land by an ascetic Iśānadatta to the *Bhagavat*. Names of eleven male and twenty female servants are preserved in the Khmer portion.[14] An official named Sūcidatta also donated three slaves.[15] A lady devotee gave twenty servants.[16] In one case the *Bhikṣus* are seen donating a slave to their grand nephew by the order of the King. What is important here is not the donation of slaves but the principle involved — that is, that the King had absolute right over the slaves and any donation of slaves would be considered valid after its approval by the King.[17] A servant of King Jayavarmana I (Saka-595),[18] by the favour of his master (Saswāminaprasādāt), became the President of the royal assembly and was honoured with everything including slaves. In Cambodia the title "dust of the feet", was usually applied to a feudal dignitary.[19] *The Louvek Pillar inscription* (7th century A.D.) records a royal order to bring four hundred slaves out of whom 212 are named. These included five dancers and five musicians. The slaves are described as *Vrau,* the name of an aboriginal people of Cambodia. The slaves are usually mentioned along with oxen, buffaloes, rice fields, kitchen gardens and utensils and are treated as property (*I C*—II.115; 121; 135; 196). An inscription of Jayavarmana IV (in Khmer) refers to a donation to *"Kamratenāñ Jagat ta rājya"* (royal divinity) by two dignitaries[20] which included male and female slaves. Another Khmer inscription records an order by Jayavarmana IV to a dignitary.[21] Yet another record (in Khmer) refers to the division of the products of land among the different chiefs of slaves.[22] An inscription of Harṣavarmana (Saka-844) records his order addressed to a dignitary relating to the delivery of goods, slaves etc., A Khmer inscription of Rajendravarmana (Saka-866)[23] records that an humble petition was presented to him by some Brāhmaṇas recalling that the pious

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[11] *Ibid.*, VIII. 221-233.

[12] *Ibid.*, II.123-27 (Pelliots' translation).

[13] *ISC.*, 47; Aymonier.I.167 ff.

[14] *RCM.*, 124.

[15] *BEFEO*, XXXVI.5; Aymonier, I.139.

[16] *RCM.*, 27-28; 50; 52; 54; 56; 57; 73; 139; 221; 222; 223; 285; 309; 311; 343; etc.

[17] *Ibid.*, 36; *BEFEC*, XXIV.353.

[18] *Ibid.*, 43-44; *IC.*, 12.

[19] Aymonier-II.444; *IC.*28.

[20] *RCM.* 165; 175.

[21] *Ibid.*, 166; *BEFEO*-XXXIII.16; Aymonier-I.292.

[22] *Ibid.*, 167; *BEFEO*-XXXIII.17.

[23] *Ibid.*, 178-19.

foundations included, among other things, slaves, cows, buffaloes etc. A royal order was issued asking the ministers to maintain the integrity of religious property and forbidding their sale or alienation by judicial decree. In one of the inscriptions, the royal donation was made out of the confiscated property.[24]

We have an interesting record (in Khmer) of the tenth-eleventh century A.D. (*IC*-III.72). It records an order (*ālakṣaṇa*) in respect of a slave named Śrī (SI) Varuṇa, who, with his mother and other relations, was born in the domain of Rājguha. This slave fled but was arrested and the officials cut off his nose and ears. It was stated in the royal order that the slave Si Varuṇa and his mother and other relations were to be treated as exclusive property of Rajaguha so that there might be no fraud in the endowments made by the King, Rājendravarmana. Another record gives a similar royal order asking to present in person the slaves (who are named) given by the King to a sanctuary so that there might be no fraud. All deals were confirmed by the royal order and the judgments, given by the rulers, were preserved.[25] All grants were confirmed by royal acts. *The Kok Rosec Inscription* of Jayavarmana V[26] throws light on the following:—

(i) the families which gave their daughters to those holding the supreme power; (ii) the devoted and faithful servant called *Sajjaka* (Sanjaka) who guarded the person of the King in the battle; (Sanjaka means a chief bound by a special oath to defend the person of a King or the Prince). When the Sanjaka was killed, the King showed appreciation of his services in a befitting manner. Not only were the Sanjakas posthumously awarded but their slaves were also installed in the shrines; (iii) the oaths and inalienable property; (iv) the education of the sons of the families which supplied royal officials; (v) various grades and classes of royal officials.

Donation of land, serfs and slaves was a common feature of the Cambodian society. A Khmer inscription[27] of the reign of

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[24] *Ibid.*, 268; Aymonier-I.384.
[25] *Ibid.*, 269.
[26] Aymonier-I.420-423; *BEFEO*-XXVIII.113.
[27] *IC*-50; *RCM*. 303.

Udayādityavarmana refers to a royal ordinance exempting the slaves of the temples of Chock Gargyar from the duty of the corvee so that they might exclusively serve gods. An inscription of the eleventh century A.D. (*IC*-III. 54) enumerates the slaves offered to the *Śivaliñga* by Narapatīndravarmana. Slaves were donated along with their children and grandchildren. From the point of view of the study of feudalism, the *Sambour* inscription (Saka-923) is very important.[28] Jayavarmana IV had ordered the payment for the ransom of slaves and Dirgha Hor, the guardian of the God at Sambhupur, had received the royal order for their maintenance. It appears that the royal order of manumission was given effect to only in 1001 A.D.[29]

The Prasat Kok Po inscription (Saka-926) gives some interesting details of the procedure of the sale of lands.[30] A Brāhmaṇa purchased land from two officials who sold land in order to acquire the precious objects for the royal service. The Brāhmaṇa then made a request on the subject of the proprietory right in the land. Notice was then issued to the Inspector of Qualities and Defects (*Guṇadoṣadarśī*) and to the assembly to summon the sellers. Full powers were given to Pṛthvīndra Paṇḍita who entrusted the execution of royal order to the Inspector of wages, Chief Judicial Officer, Superintendent of the Court of Justice, Inspector of the Property of Gods, Inspector of the Bailiffs of the Third Class and ordered them to delimit the land and to call the nobles, the elders and dignitaries for assistance in fixing the boundaries and putting the land in possession of the Brāhmaṇa. After all the formalities were gone through, the royal order giving this land to the Brāhmaṇa was notified. Another Khmer document of the time of Jayavīravarmana (Saka-928) gives an account of the procedure for the transference of land by the royal order.[31] Kavīndrapaṇḍita, in charge of a religious establishment, asked for the gift of a piece of unclaimed land which he proposed to dedicate to god Nārāyaṇa and the donation was graciously made. The Sanjakas were present as witnesses when the King made this grant. Besides the Sanjakas the following officers are also mentioned:—

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[28] Aymonier, I.307; *RCM*, 309.

[29] *RCM*. 310ff.

[30] *BEFEO*, XXXVII.396; *RCM*.313.

[31] *Ibid*., XXVIII.58.

(a) Inspector of Qualities and Defects
(b) Chief Ācārya, member of the Tribunal
(c) Reciter of the *Dharmaśaṣtras*
(d) Chief of the Store house (First, Second and Third class)
(e) Keeper of the Archives.

A royal official was asked by the King to transfer the land. He explained to Kabīndra Pandita the terms and condition of the gift. The boundaries were fixed in the presence of the elders and notable persons including (a) Chief of the ten villages (*Dasagrāma*), (b) *Pradhāna,* (c) two slaves named Nārāyaṇa and Hṛdayabindu and (d) the village elder.[32] The land was given as a perpetual gift. Jayavarmana VI commanded a number of high officials to keep watch on the proper upkeep of the monasteries and to see to the regular payment of the daily dues assigned to the officials of the temple. The guardian slaves of the temple, numbering twenty-four, must obey the Chaplains of the first fortnight, the chiefs of the royal corvee, and the officers of the army charged with the supervision of the foundation. These slaves belonged exclusively to the foundation established by Lakṣmindravarmana and were forbidden to work in corvee for other gods. Even the ascetics[33] purchased and donated slaves. Slaves continued to be donated till 1327 A.D.

The above details enable us to arrive at the conclusion that slavery was an important aspect of the socio-economic life of Cambodia. It appears that slaves participated in all types of productive measures. The fact that there was a Chief of the Slaves in the bureaucratic hierarchy is indicative of the importance of this institution. Similarly there was an officer in charge of the royal corvee. The system had its effect on the political history of the country; we have seen above that when it was invaded, the people welcomed the invaders. The reasons are not very far to seek. Any social system based on the unscrupulous exploitation of the vast mass of population is bound to collapse. The slaves and serfs, though main props of the State, were subjected to the worst form of exploitation and were equated with animals. They could be disposed of as their masters wished. In this respect they were no better than the serfs in the pre-revolutionary Russia. They formed the lowest strata in the social set up. A critical study of the epigraphic records of Cambodia reveals to us that all types of feudal obligations, in one form or other, were known and corvee was a regular feature. The King was at the top and the serfs were at the bottom. The wars, won at the cost of these slaves and serfs, added luxury to the royal palace but nothing for them. There was no remedy against these atrocities except the revolts which occasionally took place. One such revolt is known as peasants' revolt. From the available records it appears that the slaves did not enjoy any social status or standing. Self sacrifice for the sake of monarch was considered sacrosanct. The *Bantay-Chmar inscription* gives a very interesting account of the heroic self-sacrifice of the four soldiers of the Sanjaka class who were later deified (*RCM*—pp. 528-530). This dedication was meant to inspire the slaves and other members of the lower orders to do their work in a spirit of dedication.

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[32] *RCM.*, 425 ff; Aymonier-II.111; *BEFEO*-XXIX.299.
[33] *Ibid.*, 351; *IC.* III.137; Aymonier-I.192.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Aymonier—*Le Cambodge*—Three Volumes (Paris, 1900-1903).
2. *BE*—*Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient* (Hanoi)
3. *B.R.C.*—*Indian Influence in Cambodia* (by B. R. Chatterji).
4. Briggs—*The Ancient Khmer Empire* (L. P. Briggs).
5. S. Coedes—*Inscriptions du Cambodge*—Four Volumes (*IC*).
6. M. Barth and A. Bergaigne. *Inscriptions Sancrites du Cambodge* (*ISC*).
7. *RCM*—Inscriptions of Kambuja (by R. C. Majumdar).
8. Do. *Kambujadeśa.*
9. Do. *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East* (Vol. I Champā; Vol. II—*Suvarnadvip*).
10. Maspero—*Khmer Empire.*
11. D. G. E. Hall—*A History of South East Asia.*
12. Swami Sadananda—*Hindu Colonies in Greater India.*
13. P. C. Bagchi—*Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India.*
14. M. N. Ghosh—*A history of Cambodia.*
15. A. K. Coomaraswamy—*History of Indian and Indonesian Art.*
16. H. Parmantier—*L'Art Khmer.*
17. P. Pelliot—*Le Founan.*
18. B. C. Chabra—*Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during the Pallava rule*, published in the *JASB* of 1935.

19. N. G. Quaritch Wales—*The Making of Greater India.*
20. Reginald Le May—*The Culture of South East Asia.*
21. R. K. Choudhary—*Some aspects of Feudalism in Cambodia* in the *JBRS.*
22. JASB—*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
23. *Journal of the Burma Research Society.*
24. JBRS—*Journal of the Bihar Research Society.*
25. IHQ—*Indian Historical Quarterly.*
26. JGIS—*Journal of the Greater India Society.*
27. *Narodi Asia* (and) I *Africi* (Moscow) for the articles of L. A. Sedov.

Anti-corruption Drive in the 18th Century

BY

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(*Reforms of Clive, Warren Hastings and Cornwallis to eradicate corruption*)

One of the distinguishing features of the early administration of the East India Company's possessions in India was the prevalence of 'rank corruption, grab, factious spirit, laxity in morals, neglect of duty, insubordination and indiscipline.'[1] The malpractices became more and more effusive and rampant throughout the services in the latter part of the 18th century.

The first and foremost among the causes which bred corruption in the services of the East India Company appeared to be the intolerably low remuneration given to their servants by the Court of Directors who followed an obstinate and foolish "penny-wise" policy[2] in this regard. The emoluments to which the Company's servants were entitled also varied from time to time and from one settlement to another. For instance, in the Bengal Agency, in the mid-fifties of the 17th century, the following rates were prescribed for the various grades of servants:— Apprentice £ 5; Writer £ 10; Factor £ 20 Merchant £ 30; Merchant next to the Council £ 40[3]; the fifth in Council £ 20; the third in Council £ 30; the Agent £ 100 *per annum.*[4] Even after the lapse of a century the Writer received £ 5; Factor £ 15; Junior Merchant £ 30; the Chief of Factory £ 40 and the President of the Council just £ 200 annually in the Madras settlement.[5] This was no more than a pittance and fell far below what even in those days, was called a "fair wage". To make matters worse, occasional "cuts" were also introduced in the meagre salaries of the civil and military servants at the instance of the Company, on some pretext or other. As Kaye observes, "It appears too, to have been very much the custom, even in those early days when the mercantile affairs of the Company were in a bad way — where trade was slack and money was scarce, or when their dead stock was consuming their revenue, to send out instructions to reduce the pay of their servants and so to save a few hundreds a year."[6] There is little surprise, therefore, that the ill-paid employees of the Company, who considered their 'official' emoluments as only a 'retaining fee' resorted to tapping at forbidden sources of income to make up the deficit.

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[1] A. K. Ghoshal—*Civil Service in India under the East India Company* (1944), p. 61.

[2] The Court of Directors, who concentrated their attention on making maximum profits and bringing attractive dividends to the shareholders, did not consider that 'the labourer was worthy of his hire'.

[3] Letter Books of the Company—Vol. V, pp. 288-89 (I.O.R.)—*vide* Calendar of Court Minutes (1674-76).

[4] See Sir W. Foster (ed.) *The English Factories in India*, 1655-60 (1921), pp. 188-89.

Added to inadequate remuneration, were such uncongenial conditions of service as uncertainty and insecurity of tenure to which the Company's servants were subjected. This also induced many young men who came to India to amass as much wealth as they could illegally with the prospect of a comfortable life after their return to the homeland.

Another potent cause for corruption was the Company's insatiable thirst for money from India, for which they persistently pestered their servants. The latter had, perforce, been driven to have recourse to questionable means in order to realise the funds required. On the one hand the Company never failed in their demand for more and still more money from India while on the other hand, being a commercial body, they had no desire to dispense with stringent economy and in almost every letter which they sent to their servants in India, they insisted on strict economy in their settlements.

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[5] M. Ruthnaswamy—*Some Influences that made the British Administrative System in India* (1939), p. 29.

[6] J. W. Kaye—*Administration of the East India Company* (1853), pp. 69-70.

The patronage system which effectively controlled the East India Company's appointments since 1714 almost upto the era of civil service reforms[7] of the mid-19th century also contributed to the prevalence of corruption in the British Indian services. Again, the political situations which existed in the country provided a favourable climate for corruption and other accompanying evils to flourish unchecked. In the latter part of the 18th century the political supremacy of the Company was exploited by their unscrupulous servants and during the interregnum which witnessed the overthrow of the indigenous system of government and the assumption of administrative responsibility by the Company, the unmitigated, pernicious practices became more and more pronounced and fraught with greater disaster.[8] Yet another significant cause for the malpractice was 'an immemorial custom in India requiring persons visiting or seeking favour of any superior authority to make some present to the latter.[9] Moreover the ignorance and illiteracy of the vast majority of the Indian subjects too encouraged the rapacity of the European officials of the Company.

The long distance which separated India from England, which meant the absence of influence of home as well as of supreme (controlling) authority from the area of operation made further contribution to the growth of corruption in the services of the Company. Liberated from the restraining influences of home, friends and relations and also from the grip of higher authority, the young Englishmen coming to work in a far-off land, in an entirely different social environment, changed their attitudes and behaviour and unhesitatingly indulged in practices which they could not even think of when they were in England.[10]

Moreover, those who were sent out to India in the early years, by and large, were not men of character or learning, and most of them, being fresh recruits caught young, possessed no experience whatsoever. Like civil, military services were also subject to the same method of recruitment, which persisted for a long time. In the case of the latter services, so long as the 'Irregular' system was followed, the European military forces comprised of 'such sailors as could be spared from the ships on the coast and of men smuggled on board the Company's vessels in England by the Crimps'.[11] In the absence of a proper machinery for recruitment and selection of military personnel, contractors or agents were engaged to provide the Company with the requisite number of candidates at an agreed rate per head. The contractors naturally procured for the Corporation not the best but the cheapest men. Complaints were often registered by Governors and Councils of Indian settlements, about the poor quality of the recruits, who in the words of Lockyer,[12] "were for the most part the refuse of the ships, such whom neither good example, instruction nor correction, can reduce to civil authority." Yet, men of ability and character could not be induced to take up employment in the military where no incentive was provided for the service, promotion was stagnant, punishments were barbarous and rules strict and rigid, added to service in a foreign land of unhealthy climate.

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[7] The civil service reforms, inaugurated on the basis of the recommendations made by the Macaulay Committee (1853-54) did away with patronage which was replaced by a system of open competitive examination for recruiting candidates to the services of the company.

[8] *Op. cit.*, A. K. Ghoshal.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

Finally, corruption throve among the ranks of the Company's servants, since there was no one to check it; for all of them—from top to bottom—plunged themselves deeply into the malpractices of the day. The Company's men were after all the products of their age, in many ways, a ruthless and corrupt age.[13] It was an era of moral ambiguity and even Members of Parliament as well as Ministers and Govenment officials were, not infrequently, engaged actively in various forms of abuses prevalent in the society at the time.

The earliest method of making illicit income accepted by the Company's servants was private trade,[14] which was permitted in a limited measure under terms agreed upon by the employer(s) and the employees as *modus vivendi*. At first this nefarious business activity of the civil and military personnel of the Company was restricted to coastal regions where most of the original European settlements stood. Gradually it began to percolate the interior of the country. The Company's servants bought all kinds of available goods at the cheapest rates; sold them at higher prices and after forcing money on the ryots on interest, induced them to purchase these articles. They exempted themselves from paying customs to the Indian rulers whereas the indigenous people were liable to pay the same. Along with the 'interlopers'[15] whose menacing influence was increasingly felt in the sphere of internal trade, they not only deprived the Indian monarchs of much of their income through customs, but caused a lot of inconvenience and hardship to the Indian business and even to the ryots. By means of private trade, they cheated the Company too, especially after the latter assumed supremacy in Bengal.

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[11] *The Madras Manual of Administration*, Vol. I, (1885), p. 244.

[12] Charles Lockyer—*An Account of the Trade in India etc.* (1711).

[13] O'Malley—*The Indian Civil Service*, 1601-1930 (1931), pp. 20-21.

[14] In the beginning the Company allowed their servants limited freedom to conduct private business in lieu of the poor remuneration they paid to the latter. Later they had to tolerate private trade as every attempt made by the Company to stop the evil practice ended in failure.

The practice of advancing loans to the Indian Princes, zamindars and others in need of money, at exorbitant rates of interest, was another mode of accumulating unlawful income adopted by the Company's employees. One of the basest of transactions of this kind resulted in the notorious scandal, which lingered around the Carnatic Nawab's debts, almost upto the thirties of the last century and in which almost every officer of standing became flagrantly involved.[16]

Bribes, presents and perquisites in various other forms furnished another outlet through which money freely flowed into the

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15. Interlopers were 'free merchants' not associated with any legally constituted business or commercial body and traded freely with Indians without licence.

16. The Carnatic 'debts' arose out of a long-standing series of dealings of the Company's servants (of whom the most prominent was one Paul Benfield) and Mohamed Ali, the Nawab of the Carnatic whom the English seated on the throne of Arcot. The former advanced money and received '*tuncaws*', assignments of the land revenues of the country over which the Nawab was titular ruler. The 'Creditors' actually robbed the Nawab of his wealth, 'skinned' the inhabitants and divided the spoil. The debts bearing nominal interest at 36-48 per cent became speculative investments entailing some responsibility upon the Company who could extricate themselves from it only after half a century's struggle (see Thompson and Garratt—*Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India,* (1958), pp. 169-70).

hands of the Englishmen and their Indian accomplices, in the service of the Company. In their role as king-makers they got the maximum 'reward'. The number of 'gifts' and presents which they took, the amount of money they received, and the methods they adopted for extracting these from the successful candidates whom they placed on the throne of many a State in India, in fact, beggar description.

While their servants in India were amassing wealth by questionable means and returning to England as 'Nabobs', carrying fat sums of money with them to live in luxury, the Directors and Proprietors of the Company were enjoying the profitable privilege of patronage. Through the exercise of patronage, not only were most of the notable posts in India filled with relatives and friends of the appointing authorities, but large sums of money could also be collected by the latter from other candidates as condition for their appointment. Later on, the Company had to encounter rivalry in this field even from the Crown as well as from Ministers and Members of Parliament, each vying with the other for enjoying a major share in the 'East India Patronage', till the extinction of patronage in the middle of the 19th century.

The Company took serious steps from a very early period to eliminate corruption and accompanying evils, prevalent among their servants, by enforcing a rigorous discipline upon the latter. They frequently admonished the employees, passed strictures on their conduct, and inflicted severe punishments upon those who deserved such treatment. They 'also laid down from time to time general rules of conduct and discipline to be obeyed by their servants on pain of being suspended or dismissed'.[17] However, as the Company did not trouble themselves to diagnose the malady, the measures employed by them failed to produce the desired effect.

The less corrupt among the Company's servants too, though small in number, had been making frantic appeals, through their letters to the Directors, to arrest the growth of the malignant disease which was contaminating the morale of the entire personnel, both civil and military. These appeals produced a growing awareness, on the part of the Directors, of the existence of the pernicious evils in their services and of how these were adversely affecting the efficiency of the service, the reputation of the English nation, the resources of the Company and the economy and prosperity of the people of India.

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[17] *Op. cit.*, Ghoshal, p. 44.

In 1765 the Directors sent Robert Clive,[18] for a third time, as Governor of Bengal, with strict instructions to stop internal trade and prohibit the practice of accepting presents. They insisted on their servants' executing a 'Covenant' which Clive had brought with him. The standard of morality of the servants of the Company including Members of the Council deteriorated to such an abysmal pitch, even when compared to that of his own days that Clive, on his arrival at Calcutta, found the "scene shocking to human nature." The fact that even his colleagues in Council had been receiving large sums of money and were expecting still more from the latest Nawab,[19] whom they enthroned in Bengal, was soon discovered by Clive who was "shocked" to find them "so shameless to own it publicly." After deploring their action in scathing terms, Clive wanted all of them to sign the Covenant. The Council, however, did not seem to consider the matter urgent and pleaded with Clive to postpone it at least until the new Nawab had finished making over his presents to them! One of them (Johnstone) did not hesitate to come out with the statement that they had the 'approved example of the President, Lord Clive himself' with regard to accepting presents though the latter stoutly repudiated him.[20]

Clive not only put down presents but also brought about severe "cuts" in the emoluments of many an employee who was struggling hard to make both ends meet wtih his meagre wage. As instructed by the Directors he abolished the 'double *batta*' (field allowance) which Mir Jafar had been paying to the military officers of the Company. This led to wide-spread mutiny which

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[18] Clive himself had contributed in no little measure to the growth of corruption and fraud during his previous assignments.

[19] The huge private exactions from each puppet Nawab fattened the pockets of the Company's employees; but 'contributed nothing to the Company's coffers, while they served to drain the country of its resources and form a serious burden on the revenue'. Monkton Jones—*Hastings in Bengal*, p. 57.

[20] *Op. cit.*, Thompson and Garratt, p. 96.

Clive met and suppressed with his characteristic firmness and courage. Some of the leaders of the mutiny were dismissed from service and deported to England.

Clive was, however, the first to ponder over the root cause of corruption which as he found, was the extremely inadequate remuneration given by the Company to their servants. He brought it to the notice of the Directors and advised them to give up their parsimonious policy and enhance the salaries of their employees, instead of keeping the latter at starvation level of pay, for he believed that only if they did so graft and corruption could be eleminated from the services.

The Directors, as usual, did not listen to reason and Clive was convinced of their continued obduracy in improving the pay scales of their employees. He, therefore, had no other alternative but to wink at the practice of private trade. To be true, as soon he reached India, he executed an indenture jointly with other servants of the Company, to carry on trade and also prepared a scheme for regulated trade, which failed to get the approval of the Directors. Thus with the connivance of Clive private trade was carried on uninterrruptedly despite the objection raised by the Company to its continuance. Clive had also established a 'Society for Trade'[21] which conferred upon the senior civil and military officials strict 'monopoly' in salt. His justification for the founding of the Society was that the Company was paying their servants a higher remuneration in an indirect fashion out of the position from salt monopoly which the latter operated through the Society for Trade. He believed that the senior officers must be allowed to gain generously according to their rank — roughly a Colonel £ 7,000; Lt. Colonel £ 3,000; a major £ 2,000 per year. He maintained that only those holding senior positions were to be permitted to collect a 'great deal' while those in junior ranks ought not to be 'greedy.' "My grand object, you know," he said, "is that none under the rank of Field Officers should have money to throw away. When they arrive at that rank, their hands are filled with such large advantages that they may be certain of acquiring an independency in a few years."[22]

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[21] The 'Society for Trade' flourished so long as Clive was in India, but was suppressed after his return to England in 1768.

[22] February 16, 1766.

Apart from advocating salary reforms in the Company's services, Clive also warned the Directors of the portending dangers of the patronage system and advised them to forsake it for their own sake. Further, he urged upon the Crown to assume immediate responsibility of the governance of the Company's possessions in India. But Clive's was only the brain to devise the scheme; his were not the hands to give effect to the same. The work of reforms that he attempted in India was nothing but a drop in the wide ocean and there was hardly any visible change in the existing state of affairs when he laid down his office in 1768.

In 1769, largely in response to a frantic letter[23] written to the Directors by one Richard Becher (an employee of the Company, who throughout his career, was keenly aware of the suffering caused to the people by corrupt and inefficient government) deploring unequivocal terms, the moral deterioration of the Company's servants and the mismanagement of the newly acquired territories in India especially in the field of revenue administration which was mishandled by Indian revenue officers, European "Supervisors" were appointed by the authorities to supervise the Indian revenue officials and their methods of collecting revenue. These Supervisors had been given a roaming commission to study the revenue systems in their districts, a task for which most of them did not possess the requisite qualifications or training or inclination, apart from character. But the post being a lucrative one, as graft unlimited was implied in it, many an European imbued with financial ambitions, clamoured for it. Several preferred it to Membership in Council to which only a fixed salary was attached. The scheme naturally did not produce the desired result.

Warren Hastings, on assuming office as Governor of Bengal, laboured to enlighten the Directors on the egregious failure of the 'Supervisor' device. He also posed before them the difficult problem of procuring men of character and ability to conduct the affairs of the Company at higher levels, since most Europeans desired to take up supervisorship. His letters to individual Directors glowed with indignation at the scene he surveyed.[24] "Will you believe," he asked the latter, "that the boys of the service are the sovereigns of the country under the unmeaning title of Supervisors, Collectors of the revenue, administrators of justice and rulers of the people?"[25]

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[23] Richard Becher to President, 7th, 24th May 1769 (National Archives of India, New Delhi).

[24] See *op. cit.*, Monkton Jones, p. 181.

Consequent upon the severe famine of 1770, which ruined the old Mughal revenue system along with many Hindu Zamindaris, Warren Hastings decided to change the device of Supervisorship and in 1774 he transformed the 'Supervisors' into 'Collectors' who were entrusted with the collection of revenue, district by district. But this experiment too, though it laid the foundation for modern district administration, failed to function satisfactorily in the beginning, and hence Collectors were replaced by a Metropolitan Board of Senior Officials under the supervision of Warren Hastings himself.

Warren Hastings next waged a two-pronged battle against jobbery[26] at home and corruption and fraud among the Company's servants in India. However, while he was unable to enlist the support of the authorities in tackling the first problem, he was constantly opposed and pestered by his opponents in India in combating the second. Though the Regulating Act had elevated him to the exalted position of 'Governor-General', he was not vested with enough authority which was diffused in the Council of which he was not the master and about which he complained as follows: "A long habit of licentiousness, strong temptations, the cursed encouragements of patronage, and the sturdiness of independence, are too great evils to combat with the weak powers of this Government, which many possess and none can exercise."[27] The Council contained more enemies than friends of Warren Hastings and he had to wage a relentless war against the former for six years — 'a period characterised by vindictiveness, factious spirit, ruthlessness, jealousy and consistent bad manners'. Warren Hastings was incapable of rendering a 'straightforward account of any transaction' and he wrapped all he did in bewildering secrecy.[28]

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25. *Ibid.*

26. The practice of jobbery at home (England) resulted in flooding the services in India with the relatives and friends of the Directors and Proprietors.

27. Letter to Sir George Colebrook (Oct. 12, 1773).

28. *Op. cit.*, Thompson and Garratt, p. 120.

Nevertheless, in the midst of untold difficulties and in the teeth of opposition from his colleagues, Warren Hastings' imaginative insight, indomitable will, indefatigable energy and astounding courage enabled him not only to evolve some order out of the chaos into which the Company's administration had fallen, but also to lay the foundations of judicial and civil administration which, whilst retaining, as far as possible, the old indigenous framework, enforced new standards of integrity and efficiency.

Warren Hastings was aware of the existence of a state of things which he was able to discover at the very beginning of his career in India namely that the Company, 'as a Corporation and its leading servants in India, both civil and military, were greatly disposed to regard the sovereignty of India as their own private property, and to resent all interference with it by Parliament as a wholly unwarrantable and tyrannical invasion of their rights.'[29] He requested the British Parliament to step in more effectively in the affairs of the Company and also to vest more power in the Governor-General so as to avoid the difficulties that he himself was experiencing.

The name of Warren Hastings was, however, tarnished by some of his dealings, particularly with certain Indian rulers. The infamous affairs connected with Nanda Kumar and the Begums of Oudh are cases in point. At times, Warren Hastings was led into arrogance and unscrupulousness[30] when he had to countenance singlehandedly a world of opposers in the course of exercising his authority with outstanding ability. His unparalleled difficulties in conducting war on so many fronts with every source of revenue exhausted, 'fixed him in one aim—remorselessly pursued—as to where and how he could get money'.[31] He had to send money to various parts of India—to finance the Governments of Madras, and Bombay, and to bribe the Raja of Nagpur and also to the Directors in England, whom he characterised as a 'mine of oppressive rapacity'. Though many in the service of the Company acted more ignominiously (during their stay in India) than Warren Hastings himself, the latter alone had to bear the brunt of attack from a large number of formidable enemies. When he returned home, he was impeached by Parliament on charges of 'high crimes and misdemeanour' from which he could absolve himself only after a terrible ordeal,[32] which was borne with great fortitude and dignity. Throughout the long period of trial, he exhibited 'exalted courage and self-composure amid every kind of alarm and tumult'. It was personal animosity as well as partisanship in the political plane, that, more than anything else, ignited the fire of his opponents who launched iniquitous campaign against him. It was his misfortune that he was made to suffer as a scapegoat for a gross, inglorious misrule in India, which he himself tried to set right.

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[29] Stephen—*Nuncomar and Impey,* ii, 125.
[30] Op. cit., Thompson and Garratt, 136.
[31] Ibid.

It has been proved beyond any shadow of doubt, that during his tenure, there was a remarkable degree of improvement in the administration of the Company's affairs in India and the notorious commercial traditions of the administrators were fast declining. In fact, when the Pitt's India Bill was piloted successfully through Parliament, in 1784, much of the reforms which Warren Hastings himself had inaugurated while he was in India, had been incorporated in it. The Pitt's India Act, which brought the Crown into close and direct contact with the Company's possessions in India not only enlarged the powers of the Governor-General but made provisions for preventing and punishing corruption and other malpractices prevalent at the time and also for guarding against the recurrence of the abuses which Warren Hastings had reduced considerably before he sailed for England in 1785.

Much of Warren Hastings' work was undone by his successor, Macpherson who, in the words of Lord Cornwallis, (the next Governor-General) was 'the most contemptible and the most condemned Governor that ever pretended to govern'.[33] His short but lamentable term, however, ended in 1786. But according to his illustrious successor, 'his system of mean jobbery and peculation, his duplicity and low intrigues, had sunk the national character for sincerity and honour'.

Lord Cornwallis took charge as Governor-General from Macpherson in 1786. The appointment of Cornwallis, 'the first honest and incorruptible Governor India ever saw',[34] was mainly on account of the growing feeling in England that the Governor-General should be one who had "not graduated in chicanery or grown grey in fraud and corruption".

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[32] The trial of Warren Hastings lasted for seven years during which period he was subjected to a lot of sufferings, troubles and tribulations.

[33] Lord Cornwallis, November, 1, 1789.

Cornwallis came to India with a firm determination to wage a holy war against the existing evils—as evidences of graft and corruption were ample still—and to retrieve the lost reputation of the English nation. He was fully conscious of the fact that his responsibility was immense and the task which lay before him for the achievement of his objectives involved insurmountable difficulties. He had however certain advantages which none of his predecessors could dream of. In the first place some spade-work had already been done by Clive and Warren Hastings in the matter of eradication of corruption in the services. The foundation for a modern civil service was already laid by Warren Hastings and when Cornwallis arrived at Calcutta, he could discern a new spirit in the civil servants of Bengal. In fact, it could be seen, since early seventies, that attention was shifting from the activities of the private traders to the problems of administration.[35] Sir John Shore and George Barlow, two of his advisers, and Charles Grant, who came to his assistance later, were men of integrity, who evinced real interest in administration. Some administrative principles were beginning to emerge from the prolonged disorder.[36] Even the Directors were becoming more and more aware of the change.

Cornwallis was the first Governor-General who had the good fortune of enjoying and exercising the enlarged powers to overrule the subordinate Presidencies as well as the Members of his Council. He was Commander-in-Chief apart from being Governor–General and 'his rank set him above the necessity of truckling to anybody, however exalted'. He was not only master in his own Council but wielded most drastic powers over the Company's servants, which included the right to demand that each officer should submit under oath an inventory of all property before leaving India. As his friend Dundas, who had been the President of the Board of Control once remarked, "here there was no broken fortune to be mended! here there was no avarice to be gratified! here there was no beggarly mushroom kindred to be provided for! no crew of hungry followers gaping to be gorged!" While both Clive and Warren Hastings had been hampered by their previous history, the chief advantage of Cornwallis lay in his own sterling character. He was indifferent alike to pecuniary gain and adulation, and he proved by his personal example that he was a man of sturdy courage and honesty, exceptional in any century and in his own, almost a potent.[37]

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[34] The Cornwallis Correspondence, ii. 195.

[35] Ainslie Embree—*Charles Grant and British Rule in India*, (1962), p. 31.

[36] The foundation for the modern civil services was already laid by Warren Hastings and on this foundation, Cornwallis erected a strong superstructure.

As soon as he set his foot on Indian soil Cornwallis had set himself to work with a view to extinguishing corruption and fraud. He adopted two methods, for achieving the purpose, viz. (1) the provision of rewards or 'incentives' for service, commensurate with responsibilities and (2) the award of punishments for abuses. He rightly believed that mere punishment, unaccompanied by sufficient means of livelihood would not remedy the evil; it would perhaps drive them underground only to find outlet through other channels.[38] He thought that the generality of people would prefer having moderate competence by open and avowed means, to making a fortune by questionable means. He particularly detested the idea of giving low salaries to the employees in consideration of their gains from other sources.[39] But just as he insisted on increasing their remuneration he was equally forceful in his demand for 'a high standard of ethics and unflinching devotion to public business', from the employees. He held that, if, in spite of adequate emoluments, they 'deviated from the path of rectitude, such deviation might be justly and effectively punished'.[40]

Cornwallis applied his methods to the reform of the services of Bengal and to some extent of Benares and Lucknow where the grossest mischief—done during the regime of Warren Hastings—had produced disastrous effects upon the administrative morals and integrity of the officers. In Bengal, he gave enhanced salaries, in adition to a certain percentage on the revenue, to the employees, and thus placed them above the temptation to gain money illicitly. He also awarded severe punishments to a number of high ranking officers who were found guilty of various malpractices, even with their dismissal from service and expulsion from India. He was equally firm with the 'Interlopers' whose menace he suppressed. In Benares—the abode of uninterrupted corruption and mismanagement—he found the Resident enjoying almost absolute 'government' of the country, though he was not vested with any such authority. Although his monthly pay was fixed at Rs. 1,000/- the Resident embezzled money to the tune of Rs. 4 lakhs a year, apart from the vast gains he derived from 'the complete monopoly of commerce', within the country. The Raja was weak and inert and his servants were all corrupt 'rogues'. Cornwallis raised the salary of the Resident from Rs. 1,000/- to Rs. 5,000/- but in lieu thereof the latter was strictly prohibited from resorting to any kind of illegal gratification.

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[37] *Op. cit.*, Thompson and Garratt, p. 155.
[38] *Op. cit., A. K. Ghoshal*, 229.
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] *Ibid.*

Cornwallis, with the concurrence of the Directors, was keen on ending the scandal about the Carnatic Nawab's debts. But his attempt was not a complete success partly for lack of support from responsible Ministers and partly as a result of sinister influence being exerted on the concerned authorities in England by those interested in the affair. Yet he could prevent the further spread of the cancerous disease amongst the servants of the Company. He refused promotion to anyone who was a creditor of the Nawab and sent Benfield—the chief villain of the drama—along with a number of others deeply involved in the scandal, to England.

The reforms of Cornwallis, mostly embodied in the famous Cornwallis Code and the Charter Act of 1793, made good beginnings of the modern civil service which in later years earned a world reputation for its efficiency, discipline, high morale, prestige and trustworthiness.[41]

Cornwallis' sympathy towards the Indian rulers whom the Company's servants had 'robbed' and 'wronged' for years, was well-known. He lent his ears patiently to their grievances which he tried to redress as much as he could without, at the same time, either receiving or expecting any rewards from them. The Indian monarchs, thus discovered in him a new type of Governor-General who 'instead of pouncing on any pretext to raise his demands, listened courteously to reason and for reason shown, at once, reduced an intolerable impost'.

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[41] Even today the influence of Cornwallis' reforms is greatly felt in the civil service of this country.

Cornwallis was also alarmed at the rapid growth of the patronage system in England and was determined to fight it. Only a man of lofty social standing, unstinted character, resolute mind and amazing firmness, could have put up a fight against jobbery which had been flourishing under the tender care of the members of the royal family, of Parliament and Cabinet and at least a few who belonged to the ecclesiastical order, not to speak of the Directors and Proprietors of the Company. Cornwallis was prepared to face any consequence in his holy war against patronage. He sternly resisted any interference through patronage even if it came from the 'First Citizen' of England, as is evidenced from his refusal to appoint candidates recommended by the Prince of Wales and even the Queen. He boldly wrote to Lord Sydney: "Lord Ailesbury has greatly distressed me by sending out a Mr. Ritso, recommended by the Queen, but I have too much at stake. I cannot desert the only system that can save this country, even for sacred Majesty".[42] In the same strain, he declined to entertain into the services, candidates sent out to India with recommendations from the Prince of Wales from time to time. In 1789,[43] when the latter wanted him to appoint a certain "Young Treves" as Chief Criminal Judge at Benares after removing the Indian Judge, "a Black named Alii Cann", from the post, Cornwallis did not hesitate to express categorically his inability to comply with the desire of His Royal Highness, by pointing out that 'Ali Ibrahim Khan, the Black in question was a man of great talent and universally respected', whereas, Young Treves, 'is at the very bottom of the list of the Company's servants (except those of the present year').[44]

The reforms of Cornwallis, aiming at the extirpation of corruption which was deeply rooted in the services of his times, may not have been completely successful. But there is no reason for doubt that the disease which was eating into the vitals of the administration, had not only declined considerably, but shown, vividly, the signs of its obliteration from the scene, when Cornwallis laid down his office in 1794. Cornwallis' was an era of administrative reforms and his name will be written in letters of gold in the history of administration, of this country, to which he gave all the essentials of a modern civil service.

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[42] Letter, dated 15, August 1787, p. 273.

[43] Letter to Cornwallis, 30th May 1789.

[44] Vide Cornwallis' correspondence—Cornwallis' letter, November, 16, 1790.

In all that he did and attempted to do, Cornwallis set a personal example worthy of emulation by administrators and reformers of administration of any time. He never imposed upon others what he himself was incapable of doing. In fact, he achieved remarkable success where Clive and Warren Hastings failed, more on account of his umblemished character than his own reforms. He was the first trustworthy and incorruptible 'Governor' thus far sent by the Company to govern their possessions in India, and 'after his example hardly any Governor has dared to contemplate corruption'.[45]

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[45] *Op. cit.*, Cornwallis' Correspondence, ii, 195.

An Ekānamśā Relief of Ellora

BY

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1. *Introduction*

Ellora is well known for its wonderful caves and the dynamic plastic tradition. The sculptures, besides providing some of the best examples of the Indian plastic art, are particularly known for their iconographic merit. Numerous gods and goddesses have been shown with full, and occasionally rare, features of iconography and also noticed by various scholars. There are, however, still a few less known works to which the attention of the scholars has not been properly drawn yet; even those sculptures among them, taken up by any scholar, have been only cursorily dealt with. One such example illustrated here is found in Cave no. xxvii, also known as Milk Maid's Cave. This is one of the unique Brahmanical sculptures of Ellora, showing a group of three divinities, carved on the right side of the back-wall, in the verandah of that excavation. Dr. Burgess has identified this relief with Lakṣmī flanked by two male attendants.[1] Since this panel is of great iconographic significance, which appears to have escaped Dr. Burgess's notice, it is proposed in this paper to describe the relief and discuss thoroughly the identity of the deities depicted therein pointing out their cult-affiliation, if any, together with the probable date and the importance of the sculpture.

2. *Description*

The figures executed in medium-relief are located in a niche having three arches at the top. Being exposed to various weathering agencies, the sculptures are not in a good state of preservation. While all the three figures are partly damaged, their faces are particularly worn out.

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[1] Fergusson, J., & Burgess, J., *The Cave Temples of India*, (London, 1880), p. 445; Burgess, J., *A Guide to Elura Cave Temples*, p. 51.

The central figure is a two-armed type *sthānakamūrti* of a goddess in *samabhaṅga*. While she wears a *sārī* as a lower garment, her upper part is exposed as a result of the transparent drapery. She is tastefully decorated with *kirīṭamukuṭa, ratnakuṇḍala, hāra, yajñopavīta, mekhalā, aṅgada* (an armlet in coiled-snake fashion), *kaṅkaṇa* and *mañjīra*. She holds, to the level of her ear, a lotus bud in her right hand, which has been turned at the elbow; the other hand is disposed in *kaṭyavalambita mudrā*.

On her left is a *caturbhuja sthānakamūrti* of a god in *samabhaṅga*. He wears a *dhotī* and a scarf (*kaṭibandha*?) tied round the thighs, with its loose ends touching the ground on either side. The ornaments on his body are *ratnakuṇḍala, hāra, yajñōpavīta, udarabandha, mekhalā, keyūra* and *kaṅkaṇa*. He holds a *cakra* and a *gadā*, respectively in the back left and the right hands, and a *śaṅkha* in the front left one. The fragmentary cylindrical object in his damaged front right hand appears to be a flute or a play-stick, an attribute of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. The *gadā* bears a miniature mutilated figure of Gadādevī, on its lower end. She is depicted as standing in *tribhanga* with her left and right hands respectively in *pralamba* and *kaṭisaṃsthita mudrā*.

A two-armed type *sthānakamūrti* of a male deity in *samabhaṅga* flanks the goddess on her right. He is clad in a *dhotī* and a scarf tied round thighs in the fashion as already noticed in the case of the four-armed deity. He wears *kirīṭamukuṭa, ratnakuṇḍala, hāra, yajñōpavīta, udarabandha, mekhalā, keyūra,* and *kaṅkaṇa*. While he holds a *hala* (with the broken lower part) in the left hand, the right one is in *abhayamudrā*.

Whereas the description of the male deities proves beyond doubt that the four-armed figure on the left and the two-armed figure on the right of the goddess are respectively the representations of Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa and Balarāma, the position of the goddess between the two gives her the character of a Vaiṣṇava Śakti.

3. *Identification*

Despite numerous references found in various Sanskrit texts,[1] the three passages from *Bṛhatsaṃhitā,*[2] *Viṣṇudharmottara*[3] and *Hayaśīrṣa Pāñcarātra,*[4] give almost an identical description of a Śakti known as Ekānaṃśā. A perusal of these passages makes it clear that the two-armed type image of Ekānaṃśā should show the goddess flanked by Baladeva and Kṛṣṇa on either side, with her left hand in *kaṭyavalambita mudrā* and the other holding a *padma.* Whereas the former two texts give an identical description of the goddess the third text has a little variation to the effect that her right arm may be shown in *varada mudrā,* also. The last text is significant for the fact that it identifies goddess Ekānaṃśā with Subhadrā. Since Ellora-relief is in complete agreement with the description as found in the passages referred to above, it is very likely that the sculptors of Ellora might have followed one of these texts.

In this connection it is important to note that in some texts goddess Subhadrā (Ekānaṃśā) has been identified with Rukmiṇī[5] or Lakṣmī,[6] also. On this very basis Dr. D. P. Pande has identified the central figure of the Slab G58 of the Lucknow Museum with that of Rukmiṇī in the form of Lakṣmī.[7]

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[2] *Ekānaṃśā kāryā devī Baladeva-Kṛṣṇayormadhye*
Kaṭisṃsthitavāmkarā sarojamitareṇa codvahtī (Brht., ch. 57, v. 37).

[3] *Ekānaṃśāpi kartavyā devī padmakarā tathā*
Kaṭisthavāmahastā sā madhyasthā Rāma-Kṛṣṇayoḥ
(Visnu., bk. 111, ch. 85, 71-72).

[4] *Ekānaṃśāntyormadhye kāryet-saumyarūpiṇiṁ*
Varadāṁ padmahastamba dakṣiṇena bhujena tu
Sroṃistha vāmahastaṁ tu kuryad-Bhadrāṁ sureśvarim
Evaṁ te dvibhujo visnuh kathitaḥ sarvakāmdaḥ
Baladeveṇa sahito Bhadriyā ca saṁanvitaḥ........
Devasya dakṣine pārśve Subhadrāṁ viniveśayet
Tataḥ param madakārāntalocanaṁ sthāpyed-Balaṁ
(Haya. Pan., folio 65).

[5] *Harivaṃśa,* ch. 109; *Vaikhānasāgama,* ch. 61, p. 206.

[6] *Skanda Purāṇa, Visṇukhanḍa, Puruṣottama Mahātmya,* ch. 5, v. 62; *Utkalakhanda,* ch. 19, v. 17 & ch. 27, vs. 11-14, 40-41; *Bhuvanesvara Praśasti* of Bhaṭṭa Bhāvadeva, v. 15.

[7] Pande, D. P., Identification of a Sculpture in the Provincial Museum of Lucknow, *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society,* Vol. XXVII, (1941), p. 60.

A number of stone and bronze images of this holy triad have been found in various parts of the Northern and Eastern India. A stone slab from district Etah (U.P.) now in the State Museum,[8] a bronze icon from Imadpur (Bihar) in the British Museum[9] and the main object of worship enshrined in the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple as well as in a subsidiary shrine within the compound of the Lingarāja temple at Bhubanesvara[10] are among the important specimens of this type. Moreover a living example of this trinity is found in the temple of Jagannātha at Puri.[11] But there the central figure of Ekānaṃśā is known as Subhadrā[12] and the side figures as Balabhadra and Jagannātha.

4. *Cult Affiliation*

The history of Śāktism is marked by several developments of cult-syncretism in the early and mediaeval periods, but two of them—the association of Devī-Durgā with Rudra-Śiva and that with Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa—are of great significance in the evolution of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. While goddess Pārvatī stands for the former, the latter is represented by Ekānaṃśā.[13] To visualise the full impact of the goddess Ekānaṃśā over Vaiṣṇavism, we shall take a brief notice of the different stages in the development of the cult of Ekānaṃśā.[14] Originally Ekānaṃśādevī, variously known as Kuhū, Nidrā, Yogakanyā, Mahāmāyā, Yādavī, the daughter of Yaśodā and the saviour of Kṛṣṇa, was a manifestation of no other than goddess Durgā herself,[15] who being the tribal deity of the Yādavās,[16] was worshipped along with Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva.[17] In the later period goddess Ekānaṃśā and Subhadrā were described side by side, as the sister of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma and by circa 8th Century A.D. the former was completely identified with the latter.[18] Shri J. C. Ghosh opines that this change of the name of a Śākta deity into a Vaiṣṇava deity was necessitated by the Pañcarātrins on account of the requirements of their system of worship and a bias to their gods, as well.[19] This explains the worship of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā at Puri.

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[8] Ghosh, J. C., Ekānaṃśā and Subhadrā, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Letters, Vol. II (1936), pp. 42-43; Pande.

[9] Banerjea, J. N., Two Inscribed Images of Imadpur—Appendix, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Letters, Vol. XVI, No. 2 (1950), pp. 249-50.

[10] *Ibid.,* p. 250.

[11] Ghosh, *op.cit.,* pp. 43-44.

[12] *Brahma Purāṇa,* ch. 57, v. 58.

[13] Mukherji, S. C., The Cult of Ekānaṃśā, *The Indian Historical Quarterly,* Vol. XXXV, No. 3 (September 1959), pp. 193-94.

[14] For a detailed study of the origin and development of the Cult of Ekānaṃśā see, Mukherji, *Ibid.,* pp. 189-208.

[15] *Ibid.,* pp. 191-93.

[16] Ghosh, *op.cit.,* pp. 43-44.

[17] *Ibid.,* p. 195.

It is held that the worship at Puri represents the superimposition of Brahmaṇism over Buddhism or of Vaiṣṇavism over Śāktism.[20] But most probably it is the result of the assimilation of the elements of Śāktism and Śaivism within the folds of Vaiṣṇavism,[21] which is in consonance with the syncretistic tendency of the mediaeval age.[22] This spirit of reconciliation between sects is fairly witnessed by the catholicity of the cult of Jagannātha at Bhubanesvara and Puri.[23] Had this not been the case, it is difficult to understand why the Vaiṣṇavites would have allowed the worship of the two Śākta deities,[24] viz., Vimalā and Annapurṇā in two subsidiary shrines within the precincts of their temple at Puri. It clearly indicates the influence of Smārta-Pūjā over the cult of Jagannātha. Shri Mukherji would, however, see in it an inherent rivalry between the worshippers of Subhadrā and Vimalā, the Vaiṣṇava and the Śākta aspects of goddess Durgā-Ekānaṃśā.[25]

In the subsequent period Subhadrā (Ekānaṃśā) was, in turn, under the process of transformation. She was alternatively given the position of the sister and the Śakti of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma;[26] by circa 9th Century A.D. she was identified with Rukmiṇī,[27] the wife of Kṛṣṇa, and by circa 12th Century A.D. her identification with Lakṣmī,[28] the wife of Viṣṇu was finally accomplished. From the foregoing we have an idea of the interesting process through which a Śākta deity Ekānaṃśā was metamorphosed into a full-fledged Vaiṣṇava Śakti, Lakṣmī, which, as shown above, was as a result of the rapprochement between Śāktism and Vaiṣṇavism.

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[18] Mukherji, *op. cit.,* p. 196.
[19] Ghosh, *op. cit.,* p. 45.
[20] *Ibid.,* p. 46.
[21] Panigrahi, K. C., *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswara,* (Calcutta, 1961), p. 256.
[22] Banerjea, J. N., *The Development of Hindu Iconography,* (Calcutta, 1956), pp. 6 & 440-63.
[23] Panigrahi, *op. cit.,* pp. 256-60.
[24] Mukherji, *op. cit.,* p. 207.
[25] *Ibid.,* p. 207.
[26] *Ibid.,* pp. 196-98.
[27] Pande, *op. cit.,* pp. 55-60.

The cult of Jagannātha is still popular in the Northern India and the worship of this holy trinity is performed once in a year by an elder of every household, a member of which has ever made a pilgrimage to the Jagannātha Temple at Puri. At the time of worship a story is narrated in which Lord Jagannātha is extolled as an omnipotent god, who chastens the wicked and blesses the innocent with boons. This worship is likely to be prevalent in other parts of the country, as well. Thus the cult of Jagannātha, which as shown above is a stage in the development of the cult of Ekānaṃśā, represents the survival of an age-old worship in a modified form.

5. *Probable Date*

On the authority of *Harivaṃśa*, Shri J. C. Ghosh has concluded that the worship of Ekānaṃśādevī as their deity was prevalent among the Yādavas.[29] His view has been rightly supported by Shri A. Ghosh, who has quoted an extract from *Kaumudī Mahōtsava* where the name of the goddess is wrongly put as *"Ekānaṅgā"*, but the learned scholar has corrected it as *"Ekānaṃśā"* on the basis of the unintelligibility of the wrong word and the palaeographic similarity of the letters *'ga'* and *'śa'* upto 8th-9th Century A.D.[30] Since goddess Ekānaṃśā was the guardian deity of the Yādavas, it is very likely that the Ellora-relief might have been executed at the behest of some ruler of the Yādava dynasty of Devagiri, which ruled over there during circa 860-1318 A.D.[31]

Since the chronology of Ellora Caves has not yet been conclusively established, on architectural grounds, Cave No. xxvii

[28] Mukherji, *op. cit.*, pp. 197 & 206.

[29] Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44; Mukherji, *op.cit.*, p. 193.

[30] Ghosh, A., A Note on Ekānaṃśā, *Indian Culture*, Vol. IV, (July 1937-April 1938), pp. 271-2.

[31] Altekar, A. S., The Yādavas of Seunadeśa, *The Early History of Deccan*, (Ed. G. Yazdani, 1960), pp. 516-556.

is tentatively dated in circa 640-700 A.D.[32] On artistic considerations, however, this date seems to be untenable for its sculptures. Although the slender type of the body—a Pallava idiom of South—which governed the physiognomic form of the Raṣṭrakūṭa sculptures of the Kailāsa Temple[33] in the second half of the 8th Century A.D., is the hall-mark of the carvings of this cave also, the "masterly disposition of the various elements of the composition that lends elaborate dramatic effect" to the 7th-8th century sculptures[34] of Ellora is conspicuously lacking here. The inert and stereotyped quality of the sculptures of this excavation in general and the carving under consideration in particular indicate a later date, sometime in 9th-10th Century A.D., which falls well within the reign of the Yādavas. This gap in the date of the architecture and the sculptures of this cave implies that the latter are most probably the result of an after thought, which is well corroborated by the absence of any sequence in their distribution in the verandah of this excavation.

The above approximate date of the sculpture under consideration is also supported by facts, viz., the significance of this cult in the mediaeval period[35] and the general resemblance of this relief with the stone slab of the Lucknow Museum, which has been roughly dated in circa 10th Century A.D.[36]

6. *Conclusion*

The importance of this relief lies in the fact that being the only specimen of this type at Ellora, it indicates the existence of the cult of Ekānaṃśā there. As this cult was of some significance in the Eastern India in mediaeval times and the panel in question bears a general affinity with that of the Lucknow Museum, the cult is likely to have travelled from the North-Eastern India to the Western India. It further confirms Dr. Burgess's opinion that Cave No. xxvii, is a Vaiṣṇavite excavation,[37] which is also supported by the fact that in size and shape, the socket of the *pīṭha* inside the *garbhagṛha* of this excavation is fit to receive a *sthānakamūrti,* but not a *Śivalinga.* Moreover it has one of the two Viṣṇu images at Ellora showing *āyudhadevī* on the lower end of the *gadā*[38]—the only attribute ever personified there. Although the disposition of the attributes of Viṣṇu is in complete agreement with the North Indian practice,[39] since Viṣṇu does not have the *vaijayantimālā,* the influence of the South Indian style[40] is also discernible. Thus it shows that in the mediaeval times Ellora was one of the ideal grounds where the North and the South Indian iconographic traditions met and crystallised into a new iconoplastic art of the Deccan.

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[32] Brown, P., *Indian Architecture, Buddhist and Hindu Period,* (Bombay, 1956), Appendix by Mr. Justict Edgley, p. 243; Srinivasan, K. R., Rock-cut Monuments, *Archaeological Remains, Monuments and Museum,* Pt. I, (New Delhi, 1964), p. 134.

[33] Saraswati, S. K., *A Survey of Indian Sculpture,* (Calcutta, 1957), pp. 163.

[34] *Ibid.,* p. 64.

[35] Banerjea, (1950), *op. cit.,* p. 250.

[36] Mukherji, *op. cit.,* p. 203.

8. *Acknowledgement*

The author wishes to record his deep sense of gratitude to the Director General of Archaeology in India and the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Mid-Eastern Circle, Patna, respectively for the kind supply of the photograph illustrated here and permission to publish this paper. His thanks are also due to Dr. K. K. Sinha, Dr. Vidya Prakash and Shri L. K. Tripathi of Banaras Hindu University, who kindly went through the paper and offered their valuable suggestions.

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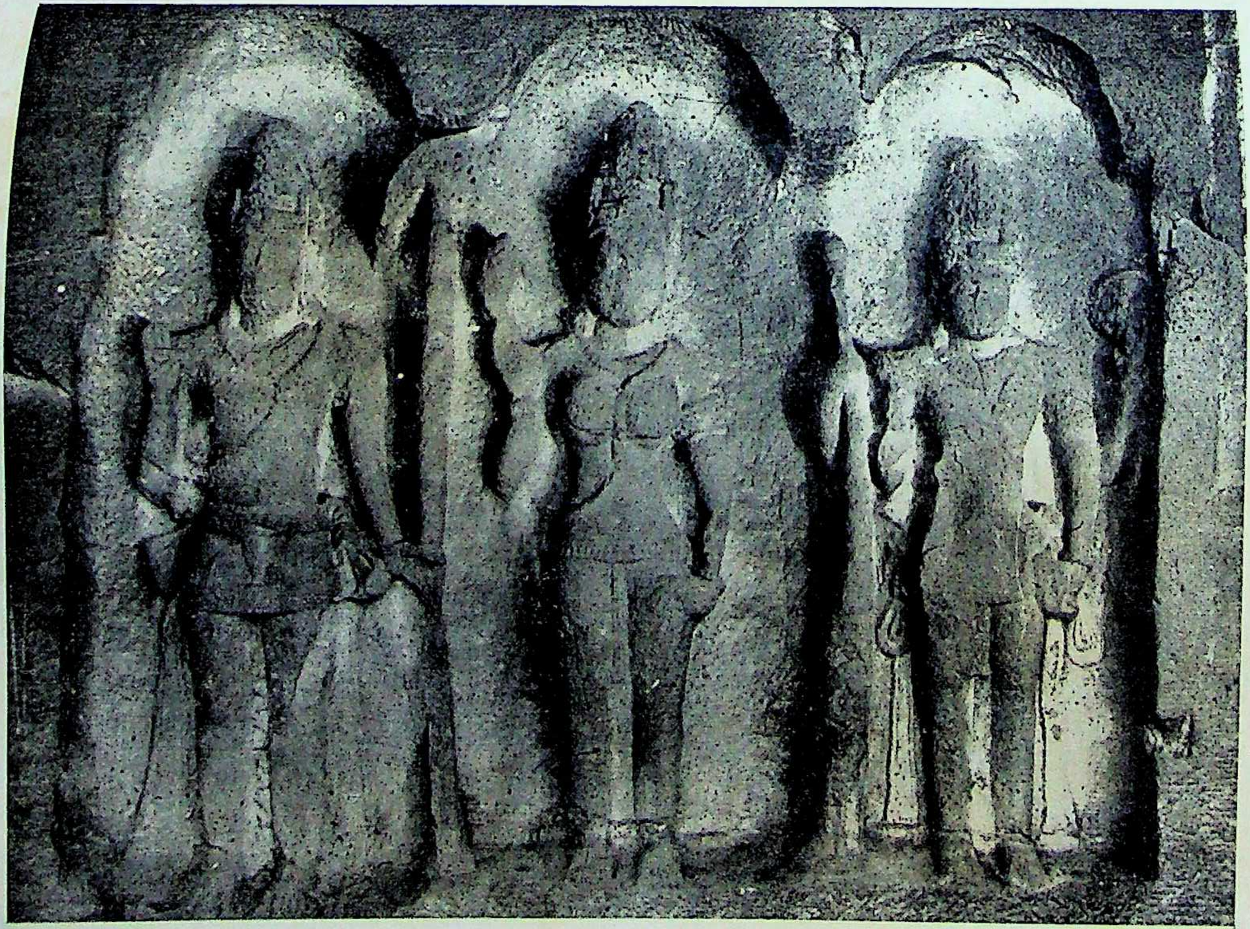
[37] Burgess, *op. cit.,* p. 51.

[38] In the other specimen, situated in the Southern Corridor of the Kailāśa Temple *gadādevī* is shown in *namaskāra mudrā.*

[39] Sivaramamurti, C., Geographical and Chronological Factors in Indian Iconography, *Ancient India,* No. 6 (January, 1950), p. 40.

[40] *Ibid.,* pp. 47-48.



ELLORA CAVE-27 — THREE DEITIES

The Christian Missions in Bombay, 1870-1885

BY

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During the second half of the nineteenth century, there was widespread prejudice in India against the Western methods of education, medical care, uplift of women and the organisation of orphanages. Men who could devote themselves to the advancement of these causes were rare. At such a time, it is refreshing to find the Christian Missions championing these causes. The great progress registered by women's education and medical care today has been the result of the impact of the West on India and the activities of the Christian Missions which fought with perseverance against the prejudices of the day and devoted themselves with considerable zeal to the advancement of these causes. They established hospitals, opened schools and colleges, maintained orphanages and raised the status of women. The story of their labour is almost an unwritten chapter in Indian history.

The first Chaplain of the Church of Scotland arrived from Europe and entered upon his duties in 1815 in the city of Bombay. A second Chaplain was appointed in 1823. The position of the Church of Scotland in India was originally undefined. It was first defined only in 1837 by the Acts III and IV, Chapter 85, in the time of William IV. The Church of Scotland had four Chaplains in 1859. By 1883, a Senior Chaplain with an Assistant Chaplain at Bombay, a Senior Chaplain at Karachi, a Junior Chaplain at Poona and Kirkee and a Chaplain of the Additional Clergy Society at Mhow and at Belgaum, are found working. Though stationed at the principal cities, these Chaplains occasionally visited and ministered to the spiritual wants of Presbyterians in all parts of the Presidency.[1]

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[1] *Administration Report*, 1883, Vol. No. 96, Comp. No. 26, folios 21-23, Ecclesiastical Department, Secretariat Records Office, Bombay.

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In the Presidency of Bombay there were no schools or orphanages for Europeans run exclusively by the Church of Scotland. The Church of Scotland had only the Sabbath School. But the Church of Scotland and the Free Church of Scotland conjointly were running some schools in Bombay and Poona which were maintained by voluntary contributions and children's fees. In Bombay there were day schools, i.e., a high school at Byculla for European boys and girls, the John Common High School in the Fort for European boys and girls with an average monthly attendance of 165 and 84 boys and girls respectively and the General Assembly's Institution for native boys with 284 pupils, including 19 foreigners. These schools were under European supervision. In Poona, there was a day school, under a European Head Mistress, for European girls, which was attended by 29 girls and 15 boys, the latter under the age of ten. There were four Sabbath Schools and one civil and three military schools at certain stations in the Presidency where religious instruction was imparted by the Chaplain to 102 boys and 104 girls, Europeans and others.[2]

During the nineteenth century, the Christian Missions had to begin the work of education almost from a scratch. They had to construct school buildings, invite children to the schools at a time when the parents were highly suspicious of, and unwilling to send their children to, the Mission Schools, train young workers into teachers and employ well-qualified personnel of foreign origin to supervise the work. The Missions used to collect funds for the construction of the school buildings and for other philanthropic purposes, by arousing the public spirit of the people in India and abroad and by appealing to the Government for grants.

The funds thus raised enabled the Missions to educate the children at a low cost. This is evident from an extract[3] from a letter from the Rt. Rev. Lord Bishop of Bombay to the Secretary to Government, Ecclesiastical Department, Poona, dated 29th June, 1870, which reads:

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[2] *Ibid.*, folios 1-7.

[3] *Administration Report*, 1871, folio 70 back page to folio 71 back page, Vol. No. 94, Comp. No. 20A, Ecclesiastical Department, Secretariat Records Office, Bombay.

> "I have opened a school at Panchagani for which the Government have granted Rs. 2,500 a year for two years. The Government grant enables the promoters of the school to offer a high school education to boarders at very moderate rates. With a view to securing the permanence of the school, we are raising a building-fund which has reached Rs. 3,000 in two months. The building of the St. Peter's Boys' School at Mazagon to which Government gave a grant has been completed and opened. The European and Eurasian inhabitants of the little station of Dharwar have opened a school for their children during the year."

Conservative people adopted a critical attitude towards the Mission Schools, attributed to them the desire for proselytisation, and did not send their children to these institutions. Yet a few wisely foresaw the value of instruction which these schools imparted and sent their children to them. These children were destined later on to form the intellectual cream of India. Many of them rose to be the leaders of India. The Mission Schools had a characteristic distinctiveness of their own, on account of the Christian atmosphere that prevailed in them. Some of these schools secured the single-minded devotion and services of the nuns who worked on a mere subsistence allowance. The schools had to face many difficulties in the beginning but later their progress was quite satisfactory and their usefulness increased. As the days passed the Mission Schools began to be praised by the Government, as well as the people, for their efficiency and high moral and spiritual standard. These aspects of the Mission Schools are evident from the Report of the Bombay Diocese for 1877-78, a part of which reads as follows[4]:

> "The accounts received from Byculla, from Bishop's High School, Poona and Lawrence School, Mount Abu, testify to the satisfactory character of the work done in them and the usefulness of these excellent institutions is unimpaired. I can also record some progress in the cause of Christian education in the Diocese since last year.
>
> "Through the active support of His Excellency the Governor, to whom the clergy in this matter are deeply indebted, an admirable site has been granted for the building of a Col-

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[4] *Report of the Bombay Diocese*, 1877-78, folio 23 back page to folio 25 back page, Vol. No. 94, Comp. No. 20A, Ecclesiastical Department, Secretariat Records Office, Bombay.

legiate and Cathedral High School in Bombay and the foundations of this building are already laid. The clergy of the Cathedral have appointed Rev. Evans, formerly of the Government College, Lucknow, as Head Master: a man of much experience in education qualified to instruct boys upto the matriculation standard and assist their further studies in arts.

"The Mazagon Girls' School under the management of the clergy of the Society of St. John, the Evangelist, is also doing good work in that part of Bombay. The Government Inspector has spoken very highly of the efficiency of teaching and of the good order of the school.

"The St. Mary's School, Poona Committee, have obtained the services of the ladies of the Wantage Sisterhood and by connecting the school with an established educational institution in England have secured something like permanence in the method of teaching and the promise of a succession of competent teachers.

"At Lonawli, I have also to report the marked improvement of the school for the children of railway employees under the new master, Mr. Cecil Smith.

"Since the departure of Mr. Brierly, the school at Panchagani has been given up. There being no endowment of any kind for a school at that station, the maintenance of one depends upon the successful efforts of the master, and at present I do not know any master in the Diocese of sufficient energy to venture upon starting a school on his own account."

Sometimes the difficulty in securing funds as well as the services of energetic and experienced men obstructed the founding and running of many a school. In spite of such difficulties, the Missionaries put their whole heart into the schools and some of them began to command the admiration of enlightened classes. This may be verified from the Administration Report of the Diocese of Bombay, 1878-79, by the Lord Bishop of Bombay[5]:

"I have gratefully to acknowledge the aid rendered by the Government to the buildings which are now on the Esplanade for the Cathedral High School. That school under the Headmastership of Mr. Evans is fast rising in usefulness and consideration.

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[5] *Administration Report of the Bombay Diocese,* 1878-79, folio 45 back page to folio 47 back page, Comp. No. 20A, Ecclesiastical Department, Secretariat Records Office, Bombay. The Report, dated 14th July 1879, was submitted to the Secretary to Government, Ecclesiastical Department.

"I regret that I should not have as yet succeeded in establishing a Church of England School at Panchagani. The failure of my efforts to find a Master who could undertake the pecuniary risk of such an undertaking has been the principal difficulty in the way.

"I feel the more regret at this failure from what I have seen at Mount Abu of the work which a Hill School can do. I cannot do better in noticing the Lawrence School at that station than translate the words which I wrote in its Visitors' book:

" 'There is a happy unanimity of commendation on the remarks of those who have recorded their opinions above, which makes it unnecessary for me to do more than express my accord with the opinion of my revered predecessor and many others who have expressed their satisfaction with the state of the school. There could be no more hopeful augury for the future of European life and morale in this country than is afforded by the cheery, manly ways and the frank faces of the boys in the Abu School. The girls do equal credit to the care and teaching bestowed on them.... I should regard it as a public misfortune if this school were given up by the Government of India. The absorption in one of the larger institutions of the same kind would involve the loss of a peculiar type of educational development which has an individuality of its own that we could ill spare. I trust that the friends of education in India will do their best by subscribing to the Endowment Fund to lessen the burden on Government resources and so to secure the future of the school. Mr. and Mrs. .... have their whole heart in their work and do it as only wholehearted people can do.'

"The Church of England Girls' School at Mazagon under Rev. K. L. Page now enjoys the same advantage with the St. Mary's School at Poona of being placed under the care of a Community of Ladies, the Sisters of All Saints, London. His Excellency the Governor has on a public occasion expressed his belief in the benefits which flow from such devoted association for work and it is therefore unnecessary that they should be enlarged upon here."

During and after 1880, the Mission Schools in Bombay registered rapid progress in strength and usefulness. The number of pupils increased, the existing schools were granted more funds and enlarged, and new ones opened. The Lord Bishop of Bombay wrote on 8th July, 1882 about this as follows:[6]

> "....I am thankful to be able to report continued progress in the discharge of the educational work of the Church of England.
>
> "The Cathedral High School, Bombay, has increased in number from 136 in 1881 to 143 in the year under review and the Government grant earned has increased from Rs. 936 in 1879 to Rs. 3,009 in 1881.
>
> "The Girls' School in connection with it, which was in its infancy when I sent my last report, has increased in strength from 39 in 1881 to 60 in 1882.
>
> "The Cathedral High School buildings call urgently for completion and I have a good hope that the Rs. 10,000 required to meet the Government grant will be raised by next April.
>
> "The Bishop's School and St. Mary's School at Poona have each outgrown the buildings which were large enough a few years ago. A new dormitory attached to the Bishop's School buildings is well on towards completion. The commencement of the much needed extension of St. Mary's School buildings has been caused by the cheering fact that the bazaar held at Poona last year brought in a sum large enough to enable us to decide on a large increase in the new accommodation to be provided. This necessitated a revision of the plans. The extra accommodation is to be devoted to the infant department.
>
> "The actual progress of the two schools during the last year is represented by the following figures:

School		Year	Grant in Aid Earned
The Bishop's School	..	1879	Rs. 1948
Do.	..	1881	Rs. 2707
St. Mary's School	..	1879	Rs. 1500
Do.	..	1881	Rs. 1900

School		Year	No. of Pupils
The Bishop's School	..	1881	108
Do.	..	1882	109
St. Mary's School	..	1881	82
Do.	..	1882	122

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[6] *Administration Report of the Diocese of Bombay*, 1881-82, Vol. No. 94, Comp. No. 20A, folio 137 to folio 139, Ecclesiastical Department, Secretariat Records Office, Bombay. The Report was written by the Rt. Rev. Lord Bishop of Bombay and addressed to the Secretary to Government, Ecclesiastical Department.

> "The Managing Committee of the Indo-British Institution hope very shortly to be in a position to apply to Government for a grant towards the repair and enlargement of their buildings in which their schools are housed...."

Women's education did not lag behind. The Missionaries took special pains and precautions to see that, in particular, the girls of European and Eurasian origin in India would have the benefit of education. In the beginning the schools for girls showed slow and painful progress. But the progress made in those days can be deemed 'satisfactory' in view of the gradually increasing number of girl students in spite of the strong prejudice that then prevailed in India against women's education. At the time, the conservative section of the people believed that educated girls would go 'astray' and become 'disobedient wives.'

Before 1882, girls' schools were already being established, one by one, in big cities. As years passed, the smaller cities followed suit. There was a time before and during 1880's when the girl students in the schools were usually of European and Eurasian origin. It was probably so because only the parents of such girls were prepared to send them to schools.

The Female Mission of the Church of Scotland at Poona ably served the cause of women's education. It educated girls in hundreds; employed women teachers of European, Eurasian and Indian origin as well as Bible Women and taught women in houses. It instructed and trained girls in reading, sewing, singing, English, etc. Its work was successful in the 1880's when the educational institutions for girls were few in number and small in size.

The following account of the Female Mission is interesting to read:[7]

> "There are six day schools for girls connected with the Church of Scotland Female Mission with 250 scholars. There are also two village mixed schools containing 100 boys and 10 girls. The Mission employs four European, two Eurasian

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[7] *Administration Report,* 1883, *op. cit.,* folios 19-20. This report also contains a report of the Poona Female Mission of the Church of Scotland by the Superintendent E. J. Bernard, along with a letter by the Senior Chaplain of the Church of England, Bombay, to the Secretary to Government, Ecclesiastical Department.

ladies, one native lady, two Bible Women, four women and eleven men teachers. The Mission also teaches weekly in about 60 houses. Instruction in reading, sewing, singing and in a few cases in English and music is given.

"The Mission seeks to publish a few books and tracts likely to interest women and children."

The Bombay School Education Society played a noble and constructive role in serving the cause of education in Bombay. In its service were efficient and experienced personnel who made a name for it. The Senior Chaplain of the Church of Scotland, Bombay, in his letter to the Secretary to Government, Ecclesiastical Department, makes a reference to the schools of this Society:[8]

> "In Bombay there is the Bombay School Education Society's day and boarding school at Byculla attended by an average of 165 children, per mensem and in the fort another high school belonging to the same Society and attended by an average of about 84 children per mensem.
>
> "Both these are high schools at present under one European Master who received a University education at Edinburgh."

During and after the 1880's a considerable number of students of both foreign and native origin began to attend the schools. The number of girl students also increased, though slowly. To encourage attendance at the schools, it was necessary to award small gifts to the students and exempt those coming particularly from poor families, from the payment of fees. Accordingly, a considerable portion of the total number of students was exempted from the payment of fees and the number of day scholars and boarders increased gradually. An extract from the Administration Report, 1883, tells us:[9]

> "The Bombay Education Society's schools contained, in 1882, 300 children of whom 203 are on the free list, six are paid for by the Government, two are paid for in full and for the remainder either a nominal or a substantial contribution is made by the parents or guardians.

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[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 12-17. The Report is written by Rt. Rev. Lord Bishop of Bombay to the Secretary to Government, Ecclesiastical Department.

"The Indo-British schools in the same year included 100 boarders of whom 38 are on the free list and 54 pay less than the cost of their board and education."

The Lawrence Asylum at Abu was founded originally as a purely military school but since 1st April, 1882 the children of the employees of the Rajaputana Malwa State Railway also began to be admitted. The strength of the school upto March 31, 1883, was 100 of whom 77 were soldiers' children and 23 children of railway employees. This arrangement was however brought to an end by the opening of a separate railway school in another part of the city. Liberal grants were given by the "Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge; through the Diocesan Board of Education, to the Bishop's High School for Boys and St. Mary's High School for Girls at Poona and the Cathedral High School for Boys at Bombay for the construction or extension of the school buildings. The Bishop's High School and St. Mary's High School at Poona supported themselves for many years entirely by fees and grants from the Government as far as the working expenses were concerned. Other schools received assistance from subscrip-

Name of the School	Teachers	No. of students registered	Average attendance	Govt. grant Rs.	Matriculates in 1882
Cathedral High School ..	15	203-212	171-175	3014	5
St. Peter's High School ..	4	32	31	397	—
St. Peter's Girls' High School ..	6	112	96	1479	1
Bishop's School, Poona ..	6	120	97	2707	5
St. Mary's Girls' School, Poona ..	9	121	105	1961	—
Girls' School, Belgaum ..	3	35	33	723	—
High School, Panchagani ..	3	28	24	2000	—

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tions. St. Mary's School at Poona and two schools at Mazagon had the benefit of being served by the members of the religious Societies and the remuneration in each case was paid to the Society to which they belonged. The remuneration paid by the education Missions to the religious Societies was meagre compared to the value of the services rendered by their members. The clergy also used to visit all the military and railway schools in their respective stations to instruct the children under their charge. The Government often gave assistance to many of the Mission Schools in the form of building grants or free sites or both. The statistics of the Mission Schools at Bombay, Poona, Belgaum and Panchagani may be found on page 847.[10]

The following is a table showing the number of students in 1873 and 1883 in the European and Eurasian schools:[11]

Schools		Year	
		1873	1883
Bombay charity schools	..	370	406
Mount Abu School	..	51	77
Bombay paying schools	..	104	347
Poona paying schools, approx.	..	140	241
Belgaum paying schools	..	23	28

The table on page 849 gives us the details about the several Roman Catholic institutions in Bombay Presidency.[12]

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[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

[12] *Ibid.*, page not clear. Besides the institutions mentioned, there were parish schools for secular and religious training of native Christian children of both sexes. The number of such schools throughout the Vicariate was 14 in 1883 and they were attended by 668 boys and 235 girls.

Institution	Teachers	Day Scholars	Boarders	Remarks
St. Xavier's College, Kalbadevi, Bombay ..	31	790	16	Under European Management
St. Mary's College, Byculla, Bombay ..	15	209	189	"
St. Vincent's School, Poona ..	7	174	0	"
St. Patrick's School, Karachi ..	8	189	2	"
Convent of Nuns of Jesus and Mary, Mazagon, Bombay ..	72	75	17	"
Convent of Nuns of Jesus and Mary, Fort, Bombay ..	4	60	0	"
Convent of Nuns of Jesus and Mary, Parell, Bombay ..	10	23	65	"
Convent of Daughters of Cross, Dadar, Bombay ..	4	30	24	"
Convent of Jesus and Mary, Poona ..	11	49	118	"
Convent of Daughters of Cross, Karachi ..	9	96	36	"

In a Report, dated 27th July, 1883, to the Secretary to Government, Ecclesiastical Department, the Lord Bishop of Bombay has mentioned the following regarding the buildings and the management of the schools:[13]

> "Since my last report was presented, the sum of Rs. 10,000 has been raised towards the completion of the Cathedral High School buildings. The new dormitory of the Bishop's School at Poona and the additions to St. Mary's School mentioned in my last report have been completed and taken into use and it is intended to make still further additions to St. Mary's School.

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[13] *Ibid.*, folios 1-7.

"The two great charity schools call for report only in connection with points not noticed before. Owing to an unfavourable report by the Government inspector on some points in the management of the Girl's School of the Bombay Education Society, the Council of Directors has resolved to engage a first class certificated mistress from England on a maximum salary of Rs. 300 per month. I look for great results from the proposed change.

". . . . The Managing Committee of the Indo-British Institution have been encouraged to enlarge their plans for the improvement of their school accommodation. Instead of adding a fresh storey to the existing building in the noisy . . . . district of Sonapur they are now anxious to dispose of that site and the buildings and to erect new schools in a more healthy situation. I have now the honour to request that His Excellency the Governor in Council will be pleased to direct that a site comprising not less than 10,000 or 12,000 square yards may be reserved for this purpose on the Backbay Reclamation Ground to the south-west of Churney Road railway station.

"The value of the Sonapur site and buildings is estimated at Rs. 60,000 in addition to which the Committee have now, on hand or promised, a sum of Rs. 6,000 towards the enlargement of the existing buildings. The Committee are advised that if the Government can double this, the whole of which is the product of private liberality, new buildings to accommodate 150 children could be erected for the sum of Rs. 132,000 thus secured."

During 1884-85, additions to St. Mary's Girl's School were made. The special grant to the high school at Panchagani was renewed as a result of the report of excellence given by the Government Inspector. The old buildings of the schools and the chapel of the Indo-British Institution were sold and the construction of the new buildings in the site of the Esplanade was commenced. The Sisters of the All Saints' Community took over entirely the charge of the women's ward of the European Hospital, Bombay, to the great comfort and relief of the patients.[14]

In numerous ways the Missions endeavoured to exercise the beneficial influence of charity for the uplift of the poor and the depressed. One of the ways through which the Missionaries expressed their love for mankind was the opening and maintenance of orphanages.

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[14] *Administration Report,* 1884-85, Ecclesiastical Department, Secretariat Records Office, Bombay. See the letter, dated 25th August 1885, by the Rt. Rev. Lord Bishop of Bombay to the Secretary to Government, Ecclesiastical Department, Bombay.

In the nineteenth century, the cause of promotion of welfare of the European and Eurasian children induced the establishment of the orphanages. This is evident from extracts from the Administration Reports for 1877-78[15] and 1882-83:[16]

> "I would observe for His Excellency the Governor's consideration the natural advantages of Panchagani, a hill with moderate rainfall and comparatively cool climate, for the location of a military orphanage and asylum like that in Byculla where the children of European parents might be brought up with less deterioration of physique than must attend their education in the lowland stations of the Presidency."

> "There is an orphanage situated at Mahim, near the north-western corner of the island of Bombay. This is an institution for the benefit of the European boys and girls and during the year under report it maintained 48 boys and 47 girls and in addition gave education as day scholars to 7 boys and 13 girls of whom 2 boys and 5 girls belonged to races other than European or Eurasian. This institution in November 1882 sustained a very serious loss by the death of its late able and much loved Superintendent. His place has not yet been filled but another Superintendent teacher is expected from Scotland. . . ."

But soon orphanages for the children of the natives came to be established. The delay in their opening was perhaps due to the adverse conservative public opinion among the natives. The Senior Chaplain of the Church of Scotland, Bombay, in a letter to the Secretary to Government, wrote that at Poona there was an orphanage for native girls run by the Church of England. The orphanage was supported by the School Ladies' Association for the Promotion of Female Education in India.[17]

The Female Mission of the Church of Scotland at Poona maintained an orphanage for girls and boys. It had 28 girls in 1883 of whom 7 were being trained for teaching. The training for teachers in the orphanage had begun four and a half years earlier and upto 1883 five teachers had received their training. The Female Mission also supported five boys. One of the boys and one of the girls were blind and were being taught to read on Braille's system.[18]

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[15] *Administration Report*, 1877-78, *op. cit.*

[16] *Administration Report*, 1883, *op. cit.*, p. 3. See the letter by the Senior Chaplain of Church of Scotland, Bombay, to the Secretary to Government, Ecclesiastical Department, Bombay.

[17] *Ibid.*

Charitable institutions and works of piety formed an integral part of the Christian Missionary activities. The Missionary institutions served the needs of widows, women, orphans, children, cripples, and the poor in general. Among such institutions of charity mention may be made of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul and the Catholic Temperance Society.[19]

Under the head of charitable institutions the following statement[20] may be made on the basis of the Administration Report, 1883:

Institutions		Inmates
St. Elizabeth's Home for Poor Widows, Mazagon, Bombay	..	14
St. Joseph's Foundling Home, Mount Road, Bombay	..	103
St. Vincent's Poor Home for Destitute Women, Children and Cripples, Mount Road, Bombay	..	37
Leper Home for Male and Female Lepers, Belgaum	..	31
St. Vincent's Poor Home, Belgaum	..	24

On the whole, Christian Missions in Bombay laboured hard, in spite of adverse public opinion during 1870-85 to create facilities for education, proper medical care and the establishment of orphanages. Their persevering and patient endeavour bore fruit abundantly in the twentieth century.

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[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 18-20. See the true copy of the Report of the Poona Female Mission by the Superintendent E. J. Bernard, along with the letter by the Senior Chaplain of Church of Scotland, Bombay, to Secretary to Government, Ecclesiastical Department.

[19] *Ibid.* The Society of St. Vincent de Paul had 29 branches, in 1883, all over the Presidency of Bombay for the relief of the poor and 4 branches in the Presidency of Madras. The Society reckoned 247 active and 621 honorary members and since its foundation in Bombay in 1862 succoured till 1883 in money and kind not less than 12,770 poor. The Catholic Temperance Society produced good results in the army. There were several other religious Societies, confraternities and congregations each of which had a specific social and moral object for the advancement of the community.

[20] *Ibid.*

The Indian Famine of 1876-79

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The famine of 1873-74 in India was followed in 1875 first by a partial and local scarcity and then in 1876 by 'one of the most grievous calamities of its kind' which lasted for almost three years upto 1879.

Progress of the Famine

1875:—The South-West monsoon rains were scanty and late in 1875 in Madras, and deficient and badly distributed in Mysore; it failed in North Bihar.[1] Rainfall in August and September improved in Madras, but relief works had to be opened in Mysore and three districts of North Bihar. Later the scarcity remained confined only to parts of Bihar, where such a condition was declared to be in existence in January 1875 and continued till the end of August, 1876.[2]

Relief measures undertaken in Bihar consisted of distribution of gratuitous relief in the form of limited quantities of grain and provision of relief works including the construction of a permanent railway track.[3] Sir Richard Temple, the Governor of Bengal, made preparations to deal with the scarcity. But the area of distress was limited and prices had not risen very high; grain was not imported, nor was it necessary to lower railway freights on grain as the suffering was neither intense nor wide-spread.[4] The Government of Madras was also vigilant and they sanctioned relief works in Bellary as early as October 1875 and in Cuddapah, Tinnevelly, Chingleput and South Arcot in May 1876; but no serious scarcity occurred there till June, 1876.[5]

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[1] Famine Progs. No. 63 Dec. 1876; Madras Govt. Letter No. 95 of 24th Jan. 1876; Letter from Govt. of India No. 89, dated 5th Feb. 1876; Progs. of the Board of Revenue Madras, No. 996 of 11th April, 1876 and Ni. 1369 of 24th May, 1876; No. 1511 of 8th June, 1876; No. 1557 of 16th June, 1876; Review of Madras Famine 1876-78, pp. 3-4; C. A. Elliot—History of Mysore Famine 1876-78, pp. 15-19.

[2] Famine Progs. No. 63 and 66, December 1876 Districts affected were 2 sub-divisions of Darbhanga, 2 of Muzzafarpur and one of Bhagalpur with a total population of 2,400,000.

[3] Famine Progs. No. 65, Dec. 1876.

A special Government enquiry in Bihar revealed the extreme poverty of the Bihar ryot which was attributed to "the peculiar tenures and customs of the country, to the infamous rack-renting, to the monstrous perversion of the law of distraint, and to the short leases given to middle-men by large land-owners.[6]

1876-77:—The Earl of Lytton, whom Disraeli described as "a man of ambition, imagination, vanity and strength" came to India as Viceroy and Governor-General in 1876. He had to face an all—India famine which started at the beginning of his Viceroyalty and continued throughout the period, though it was most wide-spread and severe between 1876 and 1878. The area and population affected by the famine varied from year to year, but the total area affected by it at its peak comprised 257,000 square miles and a population of 58,300,000.[7] The affected provinces and States

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[4] Famine Progs. No. 83 Dec. 1876; F.C. 1880, Report, Pt. III, pp. 156, 160, 161. Total relief cost in the famine was Rs. 1,64,208; of this an amount of Rs. 1,33,000 was spent by the estate of Darbhanga and Rs. 31,000 by the Government.

[5] Secy. of State's despatch for Famine, No. 28 of October 5th, 1876; Review of Madras Famine 1876-78, pp. 4-5.

[6] Messrs. J. C. Geddes and A. P. MacDonnell were deputed at the end of Nov. 1875 to inspect the distressed tracts and collect and compare the information demanded by the Government of India; F.C. 1880, Pt. III, pp. 158-160.

[7] Area and population affected was as follows:

Province	*Area in sq. miles*	*Population*
Madras	83,800	19,400,000
Mysore	27,100	5,100,000
Hyderabad	30,700	1,900,000
Bombay	64,000	10,000,000
N. W. P. and Oudh	34,800	18,400,000
Punjab	16,900	3,500,000
Total	2,57,300	58,300,000

F.C. 1880 Report, Pt. I, para 71; Famine Progs. No. 5, July 1882; Report on the History of the Famine in H.H. the Nizam's Dominions in 1876-77 and 1877-78 by Maulvi S. M. Ali, Ch. I, para 26 and Ch. III, para 64. G. W. Forest, *Famine in India*, pp. 9, 10. The figures in this book are not correct.

comprised Madras, Bombay, North Western Provinces and Oudh, the Punjab, Mysore and Hyderabad.

In the earlier famines of 1860-61, 1865-67, 1868–70 and 1873–74, the affected regions were in North India, including Rajputana; the Eastern districts of the Presidency of Madras also were partly affected. South and South-Western India had escaped till 1876, when they were severely affected by famine.

The famine of 1876-79 was caused primarily by the failure of the South-West monsoon in 1876 which started in time, but was scanty and irregular in South India till August and failed altogether in September and October, thus affecting seriously the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay[8] and the States of Hyderabad and Mysore.

The economic condition of the whole of India, especially South India, had considerably deteriorated on account of several other factors as well during the preceding decade. The American Civil War (1862-65) caused stoppage of supplies of American cotton to England and so increased the demand for Indian cotton, of which prices rose three-fold. Cotton-growing areas in India were greatly benefited by this emergency, and the position of the cultivators improved. After the American Civil War ended, there was a slump in the cotton market which adversely affected the cultivators.[9] The assessments of land revenue, especially in South India, had been made during the days of prosperity, but now under adverse conditions they proved very heavy and forced the peasants into debt.[10] The burden of taxation also had increased as the military establishment and expenditure of the Government of India had increased. The revenue system in the ryotwari areas had allowed free transfer and absolute ownership of land to cultivators and the judicial system had given the money lender great power over the debtor. The Limitation Act which made renewal of the debt bond at short intervals compulsory, made the position of the debtor still worse.[11] Then there was a general depression of trade, and some of the industries suffered from the adverse commercial effects of the Franco-German War.

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[8] Famine Progs. No. 59 of Dec. 1876; note by General M. Kennedy dated 18th December 1876; Secy. of State's Despatch No. 28 of Oct. 5, 1876.

[9] Report of the Deccan Riots Commission, para 35.

[10] *Ibid.*, and note by Mr. Carpenter and Mr. Lyon on the Revision of Land Assessment, pp. 69-125.

The deterioration of the general economic conditions, the over-assessment of the revenue, and the exactions of the money-lenders resulted in a riot in May 1875 at Supa, a large village of the Bhimithari Taluka of Poona,[12] which later spread to Ahmednagar as well. The riot was suppressed, but it was a warning of the serious deterioration in the economic condition of the people. But unfortunately the Government paid no heed to it in time.

The first alarms regarding the approaching calamity were raised by the Collectors of Khandesh and Sholapur at the end of August 1876. Relief works had to be opened in these districts as early as the beginning of September.[13] The general condition was 'very threatening' in Madras and the Collectors of Bellary and Cuddapah described the condition of their districts in September as 'worse' and 'critical'.[14] Prices of food grains were high and grain riots occurred at many places[15] in Madras which were suppressed with the help of the army.[16]

By the end of October 1876, alarm had been raised in all the affected parts of South India and a famine policy was laid down by the local Governments concerned with the concurrence of the Government of India. This consisted, as usual, of plans for the provision of (public) works, encouragement of irrigation works, the grant of advances and non-interference with trade.[17] The condition of food stocks in Madras was bad and the local Government issued orders to start works with payment of wages in grain, adjusted according to the rise in prices. Grain for the purpose was to be purchased at the nearest local market for each relief centre[18] and the local Government confidentially decided in October 1877 to store thirty thousand tons of grain by the help of a trading company.[19] Although this measure did not interfere with regular trade in any way, the Government of India did not approve of it. The Viceroy argued 'that the high prices by stimulating import and limiting consumption were the natural saviours of the situation' and wrote to the Secretary of State for India later (on 17th May, 1877) that the 'situation would have been beyond control and management' if he had not checked the Government of Madras in the matter.[20] The Madras Government, on the other hand, rightly observed that the population of South India was 'essentially agricultural and poor and even a slight agricultural loss is a serious misfortune to them' and that when the Government had laid down in 1873 the principles of saving life as their duty, there should be no objection to the storage of grain. But the Central Government strictly adhered to the doctrine of non-interference and did not accept the point of view of the Government of Madras.[21] Even the proposal to reduce railway freight on the movement of food grains was disapproved.[22]

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[11] *Ibid.*, para 64.

[12] *Ibid.*, para 4.

[13] Famine Progs. No. 59, December 1876; Nos. 1 and 2 of November 1876; No. 14 November 1876.

[14] Review of Madras Famine, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-10; Resolution No. 47 F of 16th June 1882; Famine Progs. of the Govt. of India No. 5, July 1882.

[15] Famine (P.W.D.) Progs. of the Govt. of India, Nos. 18 to 22, Feb. 1878; Famine Progs. No. 5, 16th June, 1882; Review of Madras Famine, *op.cit.*, p. 9, F.C. 1880, Report, Pt. III, pp. 205-6; Famine Progs. No. 29, Nov. 1876.

[16] Digby: Famine Campaign in South India, Vol. I, p. 7; Review of Madras Famine 1876-78, p. 9.

[17] Famine Progs. No. 59, Dec. 1876; Minute of Mr. Gibbs, 29 Dec. 1877; Elliot, Mysore Famine 1876-78, *op.cit.*, pp. 106-07, Chapter II, para 3; F.C. 1880, Report, pt. iii, p. 162.

Kharif crops failed in all the affected parts and the *rabi* area was considerably reduced on account of the lack of summer rains. By the end of December, 1876, the prices of food-grains rose to three times the ordinary rates in South India and grain riots again occurred at several places.[23] Relief works had already been started in the affected parts but a controversy about the utility of large *versus* small works arose which greatly affected the success of relief measures. The Governments of Bombay and Madras favoured large works, while the Government of India favoured small works.[24] Such relief works were ultimately started in accordance with the orders of the Supreme Government. By the end of the year, a million labourers were thus employed on petty works in Madras alone. Supervision was very inadequate on these works, as civil officers were not able to look after them. Instructions to get supervisors from the Public Works Department were issued, but no action was taken on them till April, 1877.[25]

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[18] Famine Progs. No. 19, Nov. 1876; Review of Madras Famine 1876-78, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[19] Famine Progs. No. 5, July 1882.

[20] *Lord Lytton's Indian Administration*, p. 193.

[21] Famine Progs. No. 5, 16th June 1882; Resolution No. 47 F of 16th June 1882 of the Government of India. Review of Madras Famine 1876-78, pp. 15-17.

[22] Famine Progs. No. 36 Nov. 1876.

[23] Famine Progs. No. 96, Aug. 1877, Viceroy's Minute of 12th Aug. 1877, para 4; Elliot—Mysore Famine, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26. Rice in Mysore was reported to be sold at 4 srs. a rupee; in Madras it was about 6 srs. a rupee. There was a grain riot at Cuddalore on 25th Dec. 1876; Review of Madras Famine 1876-78, pp. 22 and 27.

With the increase of distress, a large number of people migrated, with their cattle, from one district to another in search of food, fodder and water.[26] Ten thousand persons thus migrated from Hyderabad to Kurnool but were compelled to return as no work was available there. Similar movements of the people were reported, towards Hyderabad as well.[27]

Thus, by the early part of January 1877 prices had risen considerably;[28] large numbers of cattle had died and thousands had been driven to forest regions; and about 138,911 square miles with a population of 26,398,571 had been affected by the famine.[29] At such a time the Government of India held a *Darbar* at Delhi which was naturally resented by the Indian people.

This state of affairs in the South needed capable handling. In this connection the Government of India appointed Sir Richard Temple, with plenty of administrative experience on 5th January, 1877 as their delegate on a special mission, the purpose of which was to communicate "personally with the two Governments

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[24] Famine Progs. No. 64, Nov. 1876; Review of Madras Famine, 1876-78, p. 10.

[25] Famine Progs. No. 5, July 1882; Resolution No. 47F of 16th June, Simla 1882; F.C. 1880, Report, pt. III, pp. 205-6.

[26] Famine Progs. No. 24, Nov. 1876; Ali's Report on Hyderabad Famine 1876-78, *op. cit.*, Chapter 2, para. 2.

[27] Ali's Report on Hyderabad Famine 1876-78, *op. cit.*, p. 107, Chap. II, para. 2.

[28] Famine Progs. (P.W.D.) India, No. 18-22, Feb. 1878.

[29] Famine Progs. No. 17 Jan. 1877; Despatch No. 2, dated, Calcutta, 12th Jan. 1877, from the Government of India, to the Secretary of State for India.

(Madras and Bombay), concerning the measures which were being carried out for the relief of the distress" and to offer for their consideration what he might deem suitable.[30]

Sir Richard Temple started for the South on 9th January, 1877, and after visiting the affected parts initiated a policy of strict economy. He recommended strictness in the admission of people to the works and a stricter system of village inspection. He suggested that cash wages[31] should be reduced and calculated according to the prevalent prices. He was in favour of the opening of large public works under professional supervision, and the suspension, instead of remission, of revenue.[32] Those unfit for hard work were to be employed in Poor Houses or on easy works near their homes. The policy of non-interference with trade and provincial responsibility for the expenditure incurred on relief was reaffirmed by him. It is curious that the same person who administered free relief to the people during the famine of 1873-74, for which he was widely criticised at the time, should have made himself responsible in 1876-78 for such stringent regulation of relief measures in the South.

Crops were generally poor and in some parts they failed entirely.[33] The situation changed slightly for the worse between January and April and the Viceroy in his telegram to the Secretary of State for India in January described the situation in Madras as 'very grave' and that of Bombay as 'very serious'.[34]

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[30] Famine Progs. No. 14, Jan. 1877, vide Notification Camp Delhi, 5th Jan. 1877 in the Extra-ordinary Gazette of India, 5th January 1877; Instructions to Sir Richard Temple as famine delegate, from the Secretary to the Government of India, to the Hon'ble Sir Richard Temple, Calcutta Jan. 16, 1877.

[31] Famine Progs. No. 58 January 1877; Temple's Minute No. VII, dated, Cuddapah, 19th January 1877; Temple's Despatch, dated, Tripelly Feb. 26, 1877 and also his Minute of 24th Jan. 1877; F.C. 1880, Pt. III, pp. 168 and 212-243.

[32] Letter from Government of India, dated, Calcutta, 16th January 1877 to Sir Richard Temple. A White pamphlet on the Indian Famine of 1877 by a Sojourner, pp. 2-3.

[33] Famine Progs. No. 24, January 1877. Temple's Minute of 12th January 1877.

[34] Review of Madras Famine 1876-78, *op.cit.*, p. 32; Digby, Vol. I, *op. cit.*, p. 49; Revenue Letter No. 24, from the Secretary of State for India to the

Reduced wages as recommended by Sir Richard Temple were introduced in the Presidency of Bombay on 19th January, 1877 and in Madras on 1st March, 1877. Dr. Cornish, Sanitary-Commissioner of Madras, officially protested against this step as, in his opinion, the new wage was insufficient to keep the people in health.[35] The number of those on relief works in Bombay after the introduction of the Temple Wage came down[36] and some forty thousand people went on strike in Sholapur as a protest, winning general sympathy. Later, some modifications were made in the system, and in May, the Madras Government so far reverted to the old scale of wages as to increase it by half an anna per day on all relief works where tasks done were not less than fifty per cent of a normal day's work.[37]

The period of severe distress in Bombay began about the end of March and continued till July.[38] Mortality was excessive in Madras and Dr. Cornish reported in March about the death of thousands of people 'by road-side, and their bodies left to be eaten by dogs and jackals'. The Famine Correspondent of the *'Statesman and Friend of India'* gave a similar report and 'the *Madras Mail'* wrote in its issue of 13th March, 1877 that 'if the London Illustrated or Graphic had an artist here for a week, he could create a sensation all over England that would surpass the stir that was made about the Bulgarian atrocities'.[39]

G.G. of India, 15th March 1877; letter No. 5 of 1877, Calcutta 26, January 1877, from the Government of India, Department of Revenue and Agriculture and Commerce, to the Secretary of State for India.

[35] Famine Progs. A, March 1877 No. 66; Digby, Vol. I, *op. cit.*, p. 85; Temple Wage was 1 lb. of grain and half an anna for an adult in Civil Agency works and 1 lb. of grain and one anna on Professional Agency Works. Before this reduced rate, the wage in Madras was 1½ lbs. of grain and three pice for an adult. Even the F.C. 1880 recommended 1½ lbs. of rice or flour as full ration. Famine Progs. No. 30, June 1883.

[36] In Bombay Presidency the number fell from daily average of 125, 971 in January to 59, 652 in 59, 652 in February. F.C. 1880, Report, Pt. III, p. 169.

[37] Famine A Progs,, India, June 1877, No. 78; Progs. of the Madras Government Nos. 2847, dated 24th September 1877. Review of Madras Famine 1876-78, pp. 85-89; Famine Progs. No. 30, June 1883. For the controversy on the Temple Wage see F.C. 1880, pp. 212-243.

[38] Note by Col. Merriman, dated, 22nd Dec. 1877; F.C. 1880, Pt. III, p. 171.

[39] Digby, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 95.

The picture in Mysore was similarly gloomy and Sir Richard Temple's policy of 'shroffing' had severely reduced the number on relief works and increased that on gratuitous relief.[40] Sir Richard Temple thus summed up the situation in his telegram to the Government of India at the end of April. 'In Southern India, situation changed slightly for worse contrary to previous expectations. Famine beginning to seize lower classes. Number on gratuitous relief rising. Many come to relief works in reduced state.'[41]

April to August 1877:—The period between April and August, 1877 was the darkest period of the famine for South India and it also marked the spread of famine to North India. Prices in the affected Southern parts were high,[42] mortality was great, and the number on gratuitous relief was increasing every day, while the famine administration worked inefficiently. In a private letter to Lord Salisbury, Lord Lytton complained about the lack of village organisation, notoriously inadequate staff in the Public Works Department and the absence of practical instructions to officers in Madras.[43] The conditions in Mysore were described by him as even worse.

There was an influx of people from Hyderabad to Madras during this period. To check this, the Madras Government decided not to open relief works near the Nizam's frontier; if the people came they were to be taken care of till they were sent back to their State.[44]

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[40] Famine Progs. No. 5 July 1882; Review of Madras Famine 1876-78, p. 42. In Madras the number on gratuitous relief increased from 55,000 in March to 176,000 in April.

[41] Review of Madras Famine 1876-78, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

[42] Famine Progs. No. 18 to 22, February 1878; the price of coarse rice per rupee in August 1876 and August 1877 was 10 srs. 8 chattacks and 5 srs. 5 chattaks in Bellary; 12 srs. 3 chs. and 4 srs. 11 chs. in Sholapur and 8 srs. 1 chs. and 4 srs. 2 chs. in Mysore respectively. In some parts of Madras there was a continuous rise in prices for weeks; vide letter No. 1963, dated, Fort St. George, 12th June, 1877, from the Additional Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Secretary to the Government of India, No. 26 of 1877, from the Government of India, Department of Revenue and Agriculture and Commerce, to the Secretary of State for India, Simla, 11th June 1877.

[43] Letter No. 29 of 1877 from the Government of India, Department of Revenue Agriculture and Commerce, to the Secretary of State for India, Simla, 16th July 1877; *Lord Lytton's Indian Administration*, pp. 199-200; Famine Progs. No. 96, August, 1877.

The parts of North India threatened by the failure of the South West monsoon of 1877 included the Punjab, Baroda and the North Western Provinces, the latter being most severely affected.[45] In August, the condition was reported to be critical and 'most gloomy' in this province and in his telegram to the Secretary of State for India the Viceroy stated that 'the condition of the Northern Provinces may affect the whole of India more seriously even than the present severe famine in Madras.'[46] The crops were hardly one fourth of the average, the prices were double the normal rate and at famine level in several places. There was a great scarcity of fodder and in many tracts not a blade of grass was to be seen for miles. A large number of cattle perished, and many were driven to the Himalayas or sold to butchers.[47] Grain robberies were reported to have been committed by non-criminal people. The Government ordered summary trials and whipping[48] for such offences, instead of providing bread for the people. Precautionary instructions were given to start relief works in every district under the Public Works Department, assisted by civil officers, while the Government of India authorised the opening of larger works and irrigation projects under professional supervision to be financed by the Government.[49]

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[44] Review of Madras Famine 1876-78, *op. cit.*, pp. 43 to 44.

[45] Letter No. 33 of 1877 from the Governor-General of India Department of Revenue Agriculture and Commerce (Famine), to the Secretary of State for India, Madras 5th September, 1877, Telegram, dated, 31st July 1877 from the Viceroy to the Secretary of State for India. F.C. 1880, Report, Pt. I, para 68.

[46] Report on the Scarcity and Relief Operations in the N. W. P. and Oudh during 1877-78 and 1879 (referred—later as S. R., N. W. P. 1877-79), pp. 6-9; No. 1754A, dated, Nainital, the 22nd August 1877, from C., Robertson offg. Secretary to N.W.P. Government to the Secretary to the Government of India.,Telegram from the Viceroy to the Secretary of State for India, dated, Danowle, 20th August 1877.

[47] S.R.,, N.W.P. and Oudh, 1877-79, p. 10.

[48] *Ibid.*, 3-4.

[49] Prog. of Govt. N.W.P. and Oudh Nos. 372 to 418 A.C., dated, Nainital, the 18th August 1877. Resolution No. 1882A, dated, 3rd September 1877, Revenue Department N.W.P. Govt. letter No. 756, dated 29th August 1877, from the Secretary to the Government of India Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce, to the Secretary to the Government of N.W.P.

The Minute of August 12, 1877:—On 12th August, 1877, the Viceroy wrote a Minute,[50] in which he analysed the various problems of famine administration and laid down the policy of the Government of India. It formed the basis of famine policy in the later period of the famine. It is a landmark in the development of famine policy.

The Viceroy visited Madras in August, 1877 in pursuance of public demand and was greatly disappointed with the local famine administration. In a private letter to the Secretary of State for India, he wrote on 9th September, 1877 that he 'expected to find there a bad system at work but what I found everywhere was the total absence of any system at all.'[51]

The Governor of Madras and the Viceroy had seriously differed from each other on famine administration and the differences had reached such a point that the Viceroy thought of asking the Secretary of State for India to choose between the Governor and himself.[52] Fortunately, however, a reconciliation took place between the two and new arrangements were made for the administration of famine relief.[53]

According to the new system, the Governor became the Director of the Famine Department and all famine questions were to be disposed of by him. A high officer possessing the confidence of the Government of India was attached to the Governor as personal assistant and all famine correspondence was to be sent direct to the Famine Secretary to the Government. Nothing was to be done which might interfere with private trade and even seed grain was to be purchased in local markets only. Large useful public works under departmental supervision were to form the main feature of the relief system. All gratuitous relief was to be temporary and subsidiary, and it was to be provided either in camps or in villages, except in the case of famine-stricken travellers.

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[50] Famine Progs. No. 96, August 1877.

[51] *Lord Lytton's Indian Administration*, p. 215.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 210.

[53] For details of the controversy and the arrangements see Review of Madras Famine 1876-78, pp. 54-56; Lytton's Indian Administration, *op. cit.*, p. 211; letter No. 775 G.G.'s Camp, Madras, 31st August 1877, from C. Bernard, Additional Secretary to the Government of Madras; letter No. 2232, dated, Fort St. George, 31st August 1877, from the D. F. Carmichael, Chief Secretary to the Governor of Madras to C. Barnard Additional Secretary to the Government of India; Progs. of Madras Government Revenue Department No. 2847, dated 24th Sept. 1877. Supplement to the Gazette of India for 15th Sept. 1877; Resolution No. 47F, Simla 16th June 1882.

The Viceroy's Visit to Mysore (*September, 1877*):—The Viceroy also visited Mysore in the first week of September and was grieved to see insufficient relief works, and over-crowded relief kitchens, which lacked any organised system of control.[54] A controversy was raging in Mysore at the time between the Chief Engineer of the local Public Works Department (who insisted upon employing only able-bodied labourers) and the civil officers which made confusion worse confounded.[55] Crime had increased and 'mortality amongst the wanderers and in the hospitals was terrible.[56]

The Viceroy arranged for a new famine administration for Mysore 'under a Triumvirate'.[57] A famine code was drawn up; relief kitchens and public works were organised; the Chief Engineer was replaced by Major Scott Moncrieff; and other principles of relief were laid down as in Madras. The Viceroy also took over the Famine Department in his personal charge. Famine administration was made a branch of the Public Works Department as useful public works were recognised to be the main feature of relief.[58]

Thus, by the middle of September 1877, famine policy was clearly defined and famine administration reorganised.

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[54] Letter No. 821 (Famine), dated, Bangalore, 8th Sept. 1877 from Secretary to the Government of India to the Chief Commissioner of Mysore.

[55] *Lord Lytton's Indian Administration, op. cit.,* p. 221.

[56] Letter No. 35 of 1877 from the Governor General of India Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce (Famine) to the Secretary of State for India, dated, Bangalore, 20th Sept. 1877.

[57] C. A. Elliot as Famine Commissioner, Mr. Wingate of the Bombay Civil Service as Assistant Secretary to the Famine Department and Major Moncrieff, Digby, *op. cit.,* Vol. I., p. 481; Balfour, *op. cit.,* pp. 221-22; for details see *History of Mysore Famine* by C. A. Elliot, Chapter V and for the Mysore famine code, see Appendix I; letter No. 952, dated, Simla, 19th Oct. 1877, from the Additional Secretary to the Government of India to the Additional Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Mysore.

[58] Letter No. 38 of 1877, from the Government of India P.W.D. to the Secretary of State for India (Famine), Simla the 11th Oct. 1877.

September 1877 to December 1877:—There was sufficient rainfall in all affected parts of South India[59] in September and October, prices showed a downward trend and the situation improved considerably. All relief measures were closed in Hyderabad in November, 1877 and in Bombay in December, but a few paupers remained in the Poor Houses.[60] There was a considerable decline in the number of those employed on public works in Mysore as well.

Madras too had satisfactory rains, but the heavy and disastrous floods in the Southern districts of Tanjore, Madura and Tinnevelly caused anxiety. In the early part of January, 1878 there were still large numbers of people on local public works.[61]

While conditions improved in the South, they deteriorated in the North Western Provinces. The *kharif* crop was entirely lost in all the unirrigated parts except in the division of Banaras, Eastern Faizabad and Allahabad.[62] *Rabi* prospects were also poor, prices were high and numerous dacoities and robberies occurred in most of the distressed districts.[63] The measures adopted were 'judicious', but the Governor 'too hastily inferred that October rains had changed the whole situation for the better.'[64]

1878:—In the early part of 1878 the situation in Madras 'continued to cause anxiety' and in Bombay relief works were restarted in March and further arrangements were made to open more public works and relief kitchens.[65] Summer rains were, however, the turning point in the famine in Souh India, as rainfall in nearly all the provinces improved the situation.[66] Prices of food grains, however, remained high and fluctuating throughout the earlier part of 1878. The summer and autumn rains were abundant in Madras and all relief works were closed in the province by December 1878.[67] In Mysore the relief camps were 'little more than hospitals' by the beginning of 1878; and by the end of May, 1878 all danger was over.[68]

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[59] Letter No. 39 of 1877 from the Government of India P.W.D. (Famine) to the Secretary of State for India, Simla, 30th Oct. 1877. Review of Madras Famine 1876-78, p, 56.

[60] Famine Progs. No. 12, January 1878, F.C. 1880, Report, Pt. III, pp. 171 and 187; S. M. Ali's Report on Hyderabad famine 1876-78, p. 103.

[61] Famine Progs. No. 12, January 1878. The number on works was 201, 589 and that on gratuitous relief 267, 483 on 1st January.

[62] Letter No. 2738A, dated, Allahabad, the 26th November, 1877 from the Secretary to the Government N.W.P. and Oudh to the Additional Secretary to the Government of India, P.W.D.; F. C. 1880, Pt. III, p. 194.

[63] Letter No. 2329A, dated, Nainital, the 4th October 1877, from C. Robertson offig. Secretary to the Government N.W.P. and Oudh to the Additional Secretary to the Government of India.

[64] Famine Progs. No. 1, April 1882.

In the North Western Provinces, the winter of 1877-78 was colder than any during the preceding three hundred years, and hail storm and high winds in February, 1878 caused considerable damage to crops and killed a large number of people. Rain failed again and in May relief works had to be opened in Badaun, Jalaun, Basti and Azamgarh. In the same month, a Famine Code was prepared for the North Western Provinces and approved by the Government of India.[69] An elaborate plan to employ large numbers of people was prepared and the scheme was introduced in the summer of 1878 with the approval of the Government of India.[70] Heavy rains were general in August but ceased prematurely, scarcely extending upto September. The *kharif* crop, however, was average and relief houses were closed in October. The severity of the famine came to an end in the region by the end of November 1878, though relief still continued to be provided in some localities.[71]

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[65] Famine Progs. No. 6, April 1880; Note by Col. C. J. Merriman on the revival of distresses in the Bombay Presidency in the year 1878-1879, dated, 1st Nov. 1879. Progs (P.W.D.) No. 13, April 1878. Despatch No. 45, dated, 18th April 1878 from the Government of India.

[66] Famine Progs. No. 40, June 1878, Famine P.W.D.; Despatch No. 52, dated, Simla, 24th June 1878, from the Government of India to the Secretary of State for India, Famine Prog. No. 32, August 1878.

[67] F.C. 1880, Pt. III, p. 205.

[68] *Ibid.*, pp. 256-257; Femine Progs. No. 29, June 1878.

[69] Famine Progs. No. 17, August 1878.

[70] The Government meanwhile prepared a plan to employ 3,880,000 people or 9·23 per cent. of the total population at an estimated expenditure of 3¼ millions.

[71] Famine Prog. No. 3, Dec. 1880, Resolution 15th Dec. 1880, S. R., N.W.P. and O, 1877-79, pp. 22-26.

1879:—The famine had ceased by the end of 1878 in all parts of India except in Bombay and the North Western Provinces. In the latter, the prices were as high in February, 1879 as they had been in February, 1878. The situation, however, improved with the *rabi* of 1879 and the famine practically ended with the spring harvest of 1879,[72] though a few paupers, orphans and destitutes still remained in the Poor Houses.

In the Bombay Presidency, autumn crops of 1878 had been poor and more than two thirds of the spring crop of 1879 came to be destroyed by a plague of rats and mice, especially in the Eastern Deccan including most parts of Sholapur district, Eastern parts of Satara, some parts of Kaladgi and Eastern parts of Dharwar.[73] Relief works were opened in April and arrangements for charitable relief also made. Relief continued in Bombay in a limited form throughout 1879[74] and even in January 1880, 19,000 people were receiving relief.[75] This number fell to 10,000[76] in February, 1880. The Government of India was still worried about the extent of relief at the beginning of the fifth year of the famine in Bombay and informed the provincial Government that it would have to bear the financial responsibility, if relief were to continue after 1st April, 1880.[77] Famine, however, came to an end in the Presidency with the *rabi* harvest of 1880.

Famine Relief Policy

Besides relief, it was repeatedly declared, that the policy of the Government of India was 'to avert death from starvation by the employment of all means practically open to the resources of the State and to the exertions of its officers.'[78] It was also stated that 'whatever relief is given by the State should be, as far as possible, in return of some kind of labour.'[79]

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[72] S.R., N.W.P. and O, 1877-79, p. 26.

[73] Famine Progs. No. 1, April 1880, Minute of the Governor of Bombay, dated, 19th April 1879.

[74] Famine Progs. No. 2, April 1880; F.C. 1880, Report, Pt. III, p. 172.

[75] Famine Progs. No. 16, April 1880.

[76] Famine Progs. No. 18, April, 1880.

[77] Famine Progs. No. 21, April 1880.

[78] Famine Progs. No. 96, August 1877; Viceroy's Minute of 12th August 1877; Instructions to Sir Richard Temple, on Special Mission, Calcutta, January 16, 1877.

As mentioned earlier, a controversy arose about large and small works between the local Governments and the Government of India. The Governments of Madras and Bombay felt that a few large works giving employment 'to considerable number of men and conducted under the officers of the Public Works Department were preferable to a multitude of village works conducted under the revenue officers of each district.'[80] The Government of India, however, did not agree with this view and ordered that large works should not be resorted to until extensive use had been made of minor projects which did not involve risk or future expenditure and did not draw the people to a distance from their homes. In their opinion, such works usually afforded ampler scope for unskilled labour. They ordered on 8th December, 1876 that no work involving an expenditure of more than thirty thousand rupees should be commenced without their previous sanction.[81] The major part of the expenditure was to be borne by the local Governments, so as to check extravagance on the part of the provincial officers.[82] The policy of small works was later found to be defective and orders were accordingly issued by the Viceroy to start large fully-supervised works of permanent relief on subsistence wage.[83]

Gratuitous relief was provided for the disabled in the Poor Houses or under village relief scheme, and for *purdanashin* women at their homes. Remissions and suspensions of revenue, *takavi* advances and other measures of relief were undertaken on the same principles as in the case of earlier famines.

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[79] Revenue No. 13, from the Secretary of State for India to the Governor General of India in Council, India Office, London, 31st January 1877.

[80] Despatch from the Secretary of State for India, to the Governor General of India in Council, dated, India Office, London, 10th January 1878, No. 2 (Revenue). For Bombay Government's Policy see Sir M. Kennedy's note, dated, 18th December 1876; Famine Progs. No. 59; December 1876.

[81] Digby, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 9; Review of Madras Famine 1876-78, p. 23.

[82] Instructions to Sir Richard Temple, *op.cit.*

[83] Famine Progs. No. 96, August 1887; Viceroy's Minute of 12th August 1877, para 19; No. 756, dated, 29th August 1877, from the Secretary to Government of India, Department of Revenue, Agricuture and Commerce, to the Secretary to the Government N.W.P.

The policy of non-interference with trade was reasserted during the famine, but the Government agreed to give all possible information about food grains and current prices, to provide all assistance in respect of transport facilities by extension of reduction of freights and removal of tolls and such other restrictions on the free movement of trade. They declared that grain required for gratuitous relief or for labourers on public works would be obtained by the Government through local traders only.[84] There was considerable strain on the carrying power of the railways in Madras and Hyderabad in July and August, 1877. Directions were, therefore, issued that priority should be given to food grains booked for the distressed districts, the transport of other grains being postponed till the former had been disposed of. This order was in force only until October, 1878, but it resulted in the accumulation of other grains and oil seeds at certain stations.[85] Exemption of grain carts or of head loads of grain from local tolls or ferries was also granted[86] in some cases but the Government of India refused to reduce the railway freight on food grains. The policy of non-interference with private trade was generally followed except in a few cases.[87]

The Government of India did not, as on the previous occasion, interfere with the famine administration of Indian States, but requested them through the Political Agents to follow the same policy as in British India. Many of the rulers took a keen interest in the matter and opened relief works and free kitchens, and distributed grain doles through village officials. Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior alone is said to have spent four times more on gratuitous relief in his small State than the Government of Bombay.[88] Considerable encouragement was given to irrigation by the Government of Mysore who offered low rates of rent for digging wells and closed the Munsif's courts to utilise the staff for relief administration.[89]

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[84] Minute of 12th August 1877, para 18.

[85] F.C. 1880, Pt. III, p. 179; Closing Minute by Sir Richard Temple, 24th Dec. 1877, para 12; Review of Madras Famine, p. 24. In Bombay 2 lakh tons of grain and oil seeds were held back temporarily.

[86] Resolution of the Bombay Government, No. 254, dated, 23rd July 1877; Note by Col. Merriman, dated, 22nd Dec. 1877; F.C. 1880, Report, Pt. III, p. 179.

[87] In Bombay 3000 mds. was imported in Kaladgi. In a few cases local and municipal committees imported small quantities of grain to be sold at cost price to the poor of the town. In Madras 30.000 tons were imported through a trading company in the early part of the famine. F.C. 1880, Report, Pt. III, p. 179; Famine Progs. No. 59, December 1876.

Some relief works were opened in the early stage of the famine, but, as has been pointed out above, many of them were started quite late.[90] The relations between the civil officers and the Public Works Department were not always well-defined or cordial. This resulted in confusion and, in Mysore, the whole system of relief works collapsed because of this conflict. Besides this, many controversies about the nature of works, their organisation and wage rates arose at the very beginning of the famine but these matters could be finally settled only after August, 1877.

Public works organised after August, 1877 were of two types-those supervised by the Public Works Department called Professional Agency Works, and those started under civil officers, called Civil Agency Works. Large schemes of useful public works under departmental supervision formed the main feature of the relief system. Able-bodied men and women were employed on Professional Agency Works, where supervision was stricter and more effectual. Those less capable were employed on Civil Works. The distinction between the budgeted works and famine relief works was abolished. The district engineers were instructed to prepare a list of suitable works with estimated costs and provisional sanction was granted to start them when required. Wages were paid on such works for six days in the week, the seventh day being a holiday.

Professional Agency Works were large irrigation projects such as canals, tanks, trunk roads or railways, while Civil Agency Works comprised the construction of village roads, the repair of tanks, the breaking of stones, etc. Irrigation works were prefer-

[88] Digby, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 26.

[89] Elliot — Mysore Famine 1876-78, *op.cit.*, pp. 23-25.

[90] Relief works in Madras and N.W.P. were started late. In Hyderabad order to start work was given in October but no work was started till the second week of 1876. S. M. Ali's Report on Hyderabad Famine 1876-78, pp. 106-107; Resolution No. 1882, Government of N.W.P., dated, 3rd Sept. 1877, Revenue Department, S.R., N.W.P. and O, 1877-79, p. 135.

red to road works. Low scale of wages, adequate task works,[91] and 'distance tests' were used to restrict admissions and prevent such public works from becoming too attractive. Piece work system was adopted in some parts, for example, in the Salem district of Madras, but it was not favoured by the Government and the distance test was ordered to be applied with discretion.[92]

The wages paid to the workers on relief works were not uniform but varied during the period of the famine from province to province. It was, however, agreed in course of the famine that a 'subsistence'[93] wage should be paid and, if paid in cash, it was to be adjusted in accordance with the price of grain. The Temple Wage, of one lb. of ration per day, was discarded as insufficient and at the same time the wage in the North Western Provinces was considered to be too liberal.[94] When task work was introduced, a maximum wage was to be paid, even if the workers were unable to complete the task, though in the case of able-bodied labourers, reductions were permitted. Wages were to be paid weekly and daily payments were permitted only in special cases; yet fortnightly payments were also common.

Figures for the exact amount of work done are not available, but it may be said that approximately the work done was not more than fifty per cent of that done normally.[95]

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[91] Resolution No. 156-546 E, dated, 16th March 1877, quoted in F.C. 1880, Pt. III, p. 173; S.R., N.W.P. and O, 1877-79, pp. 194-95.

[92] Closing Minute of Richard Temple, dated, 24th December 1877, para 42; F.C. 1880, Pt. III, p. 174.

[93] Viceroy's Minute of 12th August 1877.

[94] N.W.P. Ration was:—

	Spl. gangs of people in reduced condition	Ordinary gangs	Minimum wage
Adult, male	12 ch. flour & 9 pies.	10 chs. & 9 pies	10 chs. & 3 pies
woman or child above 10	10 " " 6 "	8 " 6 "	8 " 3 "
Small child	6 " " 6 "	4 " 3 "	4 " 1 "

Famine Progs. No. 30, June 1883; N.W.P. Government Letter No. 2322A of 6th August 1878; Government of India Letter No. 1444, dated, Simla the 20th August 1878, from the Actg. Secretary to the Government of India, P.W.D. Famine, to the Secretary N.W.P. and Oudh (Government Famine); also No. 2534A of 1878.

[95] F.C. 1880, Pt. III, p. 208, Famine Progs. No. 5, July 1882.

For the purposes of Government accounts, it was decided to credit the expenses on works, done at ordinary rates, to the Public Works Department, the rest being debited to the 'Famine Relief account.[96]

The number of people employed on public works varied from province to province. It was highest in the Presidency of Madras.[97] The works were not very popular, especially in the North Western Provinces where they were severely criticised. Officers did not treat the famine-stricken people sympathetically. Public works in the North Western Provinces were 'harshly and badly managed', and were not opened till it was clear that scarcity would deepen into a famine.[98] The people refused to go to them on account of the 'severity of the task imposed' and the 'scantiness of the remuneration'[99] or as the Secretary of State for India wrote, on account of the 'cruel inhuman character of those works' rather than any aversion to labour'.[100]

Relief Measures

Gratuitous relief consisted of relief in Poor Houses, village relief, relief to travellers, relief to respectable women, relief to

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[96] Progs, of the Government of India, Financial Department No. 1169, dated, Simla, 14th June 1877.

[97] Famine Progs. No. 3, December 1880; F.C. 1880, Pt. I, para 71. The results of relief works were as follows:—

Province & Months	Daily Attendance on works	Cost of Relief works
Mysore for 20 months was	53,470	29,50,000
Hyderabad for 11 months was	18,290	8,38,000
for 9 months	22,800	
Bombay for 13 months	285,000	1,05,00,000
Madras for 22 months	460,000	
N. W. P. for 12 months ending Sept. 1878	55,724	16,00,300

[98] F.C. 1880, Pt. III, p. 199; Regulation No. 1882 A Government N.W.P., dated, 3rd Sept. 1877. Revenue Department S.R., N.W.P. and O, 1877-79, p. 135.

[99] Famine Prog. No. 1, April 1882, S.R., N.W.P. and O, 1877-79, pp. 13 and 175.

[100] Statesman of Calcutta, 9th May 1878; Sir George Couper and the Famine of N.W.P., p. 33,

children of workers, miscellaneous relief and private charity by individuals or charitable organisations.

Poor Houses: Poor Houses on the model of the Moradabad Poor House of 1860-61 were organised in all the affected parts with provision of cooked food and supply of cloth to the needy.[101] Light works like cotton spinning, corn grinding and the like were taken from the inmates. The Government of India ordered the maintenance of these institutions as infirmaries rather than as pauper houses. Ration was not uniform but varied from province to province.[102]

Poor Houses were not popular, and people preferred death on the road to stay[103] in them. They were generally resorted to by starving wanderers, of the lower classes, who were compelled by the police to live in them. There was intense distrust in the minds of the people about the British Government, and they feared that by attending the Poor House they would either be converted to Christianity or sent beyond the seas.[104] Many of them were badly managed and were over-crowded.[105] There were instances of unfit people being drafted to works[106] and lamp oil being

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101. Famine Progs. No. 6, April 1880; F.C. 1880; Report, Pt. III, pp. 177 and 188. In Mysore poor houses were opened in Feb. 1877, in Hyderabad in April 1877; Elliot — History of Mysore Famine 1876-78, *op.cit.*, Chapter IV. In Bombay and Hyderabad residence was not always enforced though in the former, in the later period of the famine, residence was insisted on. In N.W.P. residence was compulsory.

102. In N.W.P. ration was 8 chs. of flour and 1½ chs. of pulse and salt etc., to adults. In Hyderabad males above 15 doing light work were given 1½ lbs. and non-workers 1 lb. In Bombay 1 lb. 2 oz to men, 12 oz. to women; In Madras diet was not to exceed 20 oz. of raw gram and 2 oz. pulse. General diet was 1 lb. of Ragi or rice cooked and 3 pies condiment for an adult; Digby, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 282-90; Review of Madras Famine, *op.cit.*, p. 49; Maulvi Mustaq Hussain's Report on the establishment of Poor Houses in H.H. the Nizam dominion, para 15.

103. Digby, *op.cit.*, I, p. 454.

104. S.R., N.W.P. 1876-79, pp. 224-45; Reports of the Collector of Saharanpur, Commissioner of Rohilkhand etc.

105. Note on the causes of the unpopularity of the poor houses in the N.W.P. and Oudh in the Famine of 1878 by the Hon'ble Sir Sayyed Ahmad Khan; F.C. 1880, Report, Pt. III, pp. 250-55; Mr. Couper and the Famine in the N.W.P., *op.cit.*, p. 3.

106. S. M. Ali's Report on Hyderabad Famine 1876-78, p. 97.

kept in short supply at night so as to allow premeditated loot under cover of darkness.[107] Thus the Poor Houses did not provide as much relief as they were intended to do.

Village Relief: It was realized during the course of the famine that concentration of people in Poor Houses resulted in wandering, mortality and suffering. Hence, orders were issued for the relief of the poor in their own villages.[108] The affected localities were divided into circles of moderate size, with circle officers taken either from among the Police Inspectors, Deputy Inspectors of Schools, or revenue officers. These circles were further grouped into units under an officer like the Tahsildar and finally under an officer of the district. This system of village relief was never very extensive and the Government of India ordered that it should be discouraged as far as possible. A list of those deserving village relief, like bed-ridden or helpless people and very old and *purdanashin* women, as prepared with the help of the village officers and respectable residents of the area.[109] The relief was to consist of a grain dole, as cash doles were not favoured by the Government.

Village officers were also asked to afford relief to the starving and needy travellers and then send them to works or Poor Houses, as their condition warranted.[110] A trial was made in starting road-side kitchens in Bombay, but it did not succeed.

Village relief was mismanaged. In many cases bogus names were sent up; starving persons were refused help; only half rations were given to the sufferers while the rest were taken by the village officers themselves. The members of the inspecting staff in many provinces were weak and they could not visit all the affected localities.[111]

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[107] Digby, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 301.

[108] Review of Madras Famine, p. 37; S.R., N.W.P. 1876-79, pp. 262-63; Temple's closing Minute of 24th Dec. 1877, paras 53-54.

[109] Circular No. 51 A, dated, 11th May 1878 of the N.W.P. Government Famine Progs. No. 52, May 1877.

[110] F.C. 1880. Pt. III, p. 177; Review of Madras Famine 1876-78, p. 26.

[111] Famine Progs. No. 5 of July 1882; Resolution of the Government of India, Nos. 47 F of 16th June 1882; Digby, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 143 & Vol. II, pp. 320-23.

Relief to Purdanashin Women: The policy adopted for the relief of *purdanashin* or *gosha* females was based on the experience of earlier famines. As early as 12th December 1876, a monthly grant of four hundred rupees was given by the Government of Madras for their relief. The list of those eligible for such relief was carefully drawn up in the provinces and in cities they were given monthly cash doles which varied from province to province.[112] The scheme to extract light work from them, like cotton spinning, was tried but did not always succeed.[113]

Miscellaneous Gratuitous Relief: Children of workers were given three pies daily in Madras, which was raised to six pies later.[114] In Mysore, the compensation for dearness of food grains was granted to those Government servants whose salaries did not exceed fifteen rupees per month.[115] Relief to weavers was very much limited during this famine. In Bombay, the Municipalities were made responsible for the relief of certain workers on trades like leather, wool and cotton. They were provided with raw materials and the Government purchased the unfinished products. In Madras advances were given to weavers and the cloth woven by them was purchased by the Government at the market price.[116]

The amount of gratuitous relief given can be judged by the following table:[117] (See page 876)

Private Charity: Private charity, distributed by individuals, relief committees, and various other bodies and associations was active throughout the period of famine. The extent of individual

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[112] Maulvi Mustaq Hussain's Report on the Establishment of Poor Houses in Nizam's Dominion, para 9; S. M. Ali's Report on Famine in Hyderabad 1876-78, p. 138; Digby; *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 31. In Madras Re. 1 to 1½ per month; In Hyderabad Rs. 2 to 2/8, a month of cash doles were given.

[113] F.C., 1880 Report, Pt. III, p. 177; S. M. Ali's Report on Famine in Hyderabad 1876-78, p. 138; Digby, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 31. It failed in Hyderabad and Madras. In Bombay 14 oz. cotton for spinning for a week was given to them.

[114] Progs. of the Government of Madras No. 2391 of July 27, 1877.

[115] Elliot — History of Mysore Famine 1876-78, pp. 25-26.

[116] Review of Madras Famine, *opp. cit.*, pp. 39 and 77. There was not much loss in this form of relief.

[117] Famine Progs. No. 3, December 1880., F.C. 1880, Report, Pt. I, para 71.

Province	Average number Daily Relieved	Period	Remarks
Bombay	32687	13 months ending Nov. 1877	This does not include the relief given later.
Madras	327-500	22 months ending Feb. 1878	
Mysore	56400	20 months ending July 1878	
Hyderabad	16300	6 months	
North West Provinces and Oudh	13754	12 months ending Sept. 1878	This does not include the relief given later.

charity cannot be ascertained, but there were instances where two thousand people were fed every day by single individuals.[118]

Besides individuals, there was a spontaneous rise of a large number of charitable associations, especially in Bombay, which did commendable work. The Bombay Cattle Saving Fund,[119] Anna Fund and *Doodhkhana*[120] in Bombay; the Friend-in-need Society in Madras; and the *Sarvajanik Sabha* of Poona played a very important part in organising charitable relief during this famine.

The Government did not agree at the beginning to raise private subscriptions because they felt confident of dealing with the famine expenditure from their own resources, and also because they did not consider such a measure justifiable. But later they agreed that funds could be raised for purposes other than those on which the Government was spending money.[121] Relief committees were organised in the different affected provinces and subscriptions were raised in India and abroad. Later still, the Government permitted their servants to be members of these charitable relief committees.

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[118] Digby, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 13 and 27. A few mefbers of the Chetty caste fed 2000 each; one Mudaliyar 2000 and in Sholapur a Marwari placed Rs. 25,000, at the disposal of the Government.

[119] Digby, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 14-15. Cattle were purchased from the fund at 2 as. to 6 as. per head and sent to Government grazing grounds. Thus about 2000 cattle were purchased in Sholapur alone.

[120] Digby, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 16.

[121] Revenue Despatch No. 82, from the Secretary of State for India in Council to the Governor General of India in Council, Indian Office, London, 8th Nov. 1877; No. 772 (Famine) from the Additional Secretary to the Government of India to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal. G. G.'s camp, Madras, the 31st August 1877.

The consultations of the relief committees were intended to help the local committees in aiding the poor, not reached by Government, the destitute children in orphanages, day nurseries, and the like, provide clothes for destitute women and children, etc.[122] No help from the fund was given to persons who could get aid from the Government.

Thus, help was given for the purchase of seed grains, construction of houses if destroyed, the hiring of ploughs and also for clothing in extreme cases of distress in the cold weather; advances were given for puchasing bullocks, etc.

The sum collected was £ 678,000,[123] but no final report was prepared nor any audit of accounts done. On the whole, provincial and local committees did very useful work.

Remission and Suspension of Revenue: The Government of India ordered the suspension of revenue for some time instead of remission. The Government of Madras emphasized that 'the Madras ryot is very heavily taxed'[124] and the Government of North Western Provinces pointed out that 'the village payer will simply be ruined' if revenue were to be collected[125] as usual. But the Government of India remained firm and permitted remissions only

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122. No. 773 (Female) from the Addl. Secretary to the Government of India to the Secretary to the Govt. of Madras, Famine Department G.G.'s camp, Madras, 31st August 1877.

123. Despatch from the Government of India to the Secretary of State for India, No. 64, dated, Calcutta the 23rd Dec. 1896; Report of the Central Executive Committee., Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund, 1897, Pt. I, p. 88.

124. Progs. of the Govt. of Madras 9th Feb. 1877, No. 245; Famine in West and Southern India, pp. 2-10; Also Memorandum by C. E. Bernard, Secretary to Sir Richard Temple regarding remission of land Revenue in consequence of the failure of harvests in 1876, Nagpur, April 28, 1877.

125. Letter No. 792 A, dated, Oct. 11, 1877, from the Secretary to Government N.W.P. and Oudh to the Secretary to Government of India, (PWD) Famine.

towards the end of the famine and then too only in special cases. No general suspensions were allowed.[126]

On account of the strict attitude of the Government of India remissions were inconsiderable[127] and the collection of revenue was done in a harsh manner. In many cases, even the suspended demand was pressed in the same season.[128] The number of registered sale deeds consequently increased and the area under cultivation decreased. Reviewing the famine in the North Western Provinces, the Government of India themselves later came to the conclusion that the revenue collection 'intensified distress'.[129] In his report on mortality in the Rohilkhand Division of the North Western Provinces dated 28th February, 1879, D. C. Pitchers recorded that he found instances where mortality seemed clearly traceable to the rigour with which the rents had been collected.[130] There can be no doubt that if the Government had adopted a more liberal revenue policy, the suffering would have been far less.

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[126] Resolution of the Government of Bombay, No. 337, dated, Bombay Castle, 18th January 1877. Memorandum by C. Barnard, Late Secretary to Sir Richard Temple, No. CXVIII, Nagpur, May 10, 1877; Letter No. 957, from Addl. Secretary, Government of India to the Secretary, Government N.W.P., dated, 22nd Oct. 1877; Letter No. 481 from A. O. Hume, Secretary to the Government of India, Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce to Secretary N.W.P. Government 6th August 1878, Simla, No. 481.

[127] In Hyderabad out of a total demand of about 167 lakhs during 1876-78, an amount of Rs. 32,60,000 was remitted; S. M. Ali's Report on the Famine in Hyderabad, *op.cit.*, p. 141. In Bombay the remissions at the time of the report of the F.C. 1880 amounted to Rs. 216000 and suspensions to Rs. 50 lakhs; the total yearly demand of the nine affected districts of Bombay Presidency was 140 lakhs and of the whole province Rs. 262 lakhs; In Madras the annual demand was about Rs. 450 lakhs, the total loss of land revenue between 1876-81 was about Rs. 150 lakhs, including the diminished land revenue in 1876-77, the arrears written off and the remissions ordered by the Secretary of State for India. Resolution No. 47 F, Simla, 16th June 1882 vide Famine Progs. No. 5 July 1882. F.C. 1880, Pt. I, para 71 gives the loss of revenue in Madras as Rs. 118 lakhs. In Mysore, the loss of land revenue was Rs. 28 lakhs. Elliot—Mysore Famine report 1876-78, *op.cit.*, pp. 188-189. In N.W.P. an amount of hardly Rs. 33225 was remitted upto 1881, total yearly revenue being Rs. 450 lakhs., S.R., N.W.P. 1877-79, p. 418., F.C. 1880, Report, I, para 71, and III, p. 182.

[128] Letter No. 596 dated 17th March 1879 from the Secretary to Government N.W.P. and Oudh to the Secretary to Government of India P.W.D. (Famine): Report S.R.N.W.P., pp. 382 and 417.

[129] Progs. No. 1, April 1882; Sir George Couper and the Famine of NW.P., p. 52, Rev. Mr. Scott, a missionary of Bareilly, wrote that the exacting of the usual *kist* greatly enhanced the distress.

Advances: Before 1876, advances were paid to cultivators according to the rules laid down by The Land Improvement Loans Act (Act 26 of 1871). This Act was not broadbased and only big landlords could benefit by it. The Act was amended by Act 12 of 1876 which permitted owners or tenants to get advances with the approval of the landlords. Advances for land improvement, purchase of seed, ploughs or bullocks were made during this famine according to the new Act.

In the North Western Provinces, seed advances were payable within a month after the crop was ripe, while the advances for bullocks were to be repaid within two years in half-yearly instalments.[131] The local Government also requested the Supreme Government to exempt these advances from stamp duty and got their sanction, but the order came too late to be of much use.[132] In Madras, the advances were given on simple agreements and were left to the discretion of the Collectors. Advances in Madras were also given to weavers which proved successful and economical.[133] The exact figures of the advances for all the provinces are not on record.[134]

The policy of advances was strict and poor people could not take advantage of it as they could not give the required surety. The interest charged was 6¼ per cent and the time allowed for repayment was very short. All these factors deprived the people of the full advantage of the relief provided.

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[130] S.R.; N.W.P. 1877-79, p. 323.

[131] *Ibid.*, pp. 294-296.

[132] *Ibid.*, pp. 295-96.

[133] Review of Madras Famine, *op.cit.*, pp. 39 and 51.

[134] S.R.; N.W.P. 1877-79, pp. 300-302; F.C. 1880, Report, Pt. III, p. 208. In Madras an amount Rs. 3,80,900 was advanced for the purchase of seed grains and Rs. 14,19,000 for the construction of wells and tanks under Land Improvement Act. In N.W.P. an amount of Rs. 4,21,324 was advanced for seeds and bullocks and in Oudh Rs. 1,54,946 advanced for purposes, not contemplated by the Land Improvement Act.

The Preservation of Cattle:—The Government's policy in respect of the supply of fodder for the preservation of cattle[135] included the opening of forest reserves in parts of Bombay and Mysore, the grant of free passage of cattle by rail from Sholapur to Poona and the preservation of two thousand tons of fodder under the supervision of the Conservator of Forests. The preserved fodder could not however be sold as people could not afford to purchase it. Cattle were driven to grazing lands on the higher hills in Madras and Bombay. The Bombay Cattle Saving Society also did very useful work.

The methods adopted to save cattle were late and inadequate and could not prevent the excessive cattle mortality. In Mysore, the cattle mortality was three to eight times the normal. Hundreds of cattle perished or were sold to butchers[136] in the North Western Provinces while the cattle mortality was so great in Bombay that land had to be left unploughed for want of plough cattle.[137]

Orphans:—No uniform policy was adopted in regard to the support of orphans. Orders were given in Madras not to pamper abandoned children but to send the able-bodied among them to the public works, and return those claimed by their parents.[138] In Hyderabad, they were put in asylums and returned when claimed by their parents. Later, they were set free to go wherever they liked. In Mysore, they were at first given to Roman Catholic missionaries, but on account of public agitation, they were later put in Government orphanages.[139]

Migration and Wandering:—There were wandering and emigration, on account of the famine. The movements of the people from one part of the country to another created difficulties, especially in Southern India and in the case of those who migrated from the States to British Provinces or *vice versa*. In some cases, the migrants were separated from the local poor and sent back to their own States; or the Governments of the States to which they belonged were asked to send an officer to take them back after identification.[140] A third experiment, made by the Madras Government, was to keep a list of such migrants and the bill on account of their maintenance was eventually to be paid by the States concerned. This did not succeed, and ultimately it was decided to relieve them irrespective of the State to which they belonged.

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[135] Famine Progs. No. 59 Dec. 1876; F.C. 1880, Report, Pt. III, p. 180.

[136] Letter No. 792A, from Secretary to Government N.W.P. and Oudh to Secretary to Government of India, Financial Department, dated 11th Oct. 1877.

[137] Sir Richard Temple's Minute, dated 24th Dec. 1877.

[138] Review of Madras Famine, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[139] Elliot—*History of Mysore Famine* 1876-78, *op. cit.*, p. 184; S. M. Ali's report on Hyderabad Famine 1876-78, p. 145.

Lord Salisbury, the then Secretary of State for India, speaking at Bradford in the autumn of 1877, considered emigration as a panacea for Indian famines. Facilities for emigration to Burma were provided, but did not prove of much value.[141] Emigration from the South to Ceylon, however, increased and when the Ceylon Government protested against it, the Madras Government said that it had no legal authority to check it. Similarly, there was a slight increase in the emigration to Natal and Mauritius.[142]

Effects of the Famine:—Crime increased in several parts of the affected area on account of the famine. It was said to be as high as four to six times[143] the normal rate in Mysore and extra money was required to meet the charges for the maintenance of law and order in Madras. Crimes, however, were "marvellously few considering the prevailing want of the millions who were in need."[144]

During this famine, mortality was caused not only by starvation but also by cholera, small-pox fever, bowel complaints caused by eating leaves and wild plants, and excessive cold.[145] Official records do not give the complete figures of mortality, as deaths of women and respectable people were usually not reported, and as the village officers who had been made responsible for starvation deaths in their respective villages were apt to report no such deaths.[146] Dr. Cornish, Sanitary Commissioner of Madras, complained that 'hundreds of thousands of the suffering poor have died of diseases incident to famine without the least help in the way of medical advice or treatment.'[147] A test census taken in Mysore in 1878 showed that one-fourth of the people of Mysore had died.[148] The Government of India admitted that the famine mortality in Madras was enormous.[149] The Famine Commission of 1880 came to the conclusion that of the total population of 190 millions in British India including Mysore and Berar, mortality on account of famine was five and a quarter millions, that births were less by two millions and that abnormal mortality was at least forty per cent above the normal.[150]

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[140] F.C. 1880, Report, Pt. III, p. 190, e.g. 80,000 people were taken to Hyderabad from Madras, Evidence of W. Oldham, Special Relief Officer, Bellary, before the F.C .of 1880;'No. 90 dated 22nd Jan. 1877 from the Additional Secretary to the Government of India to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, P.W.D.; Elliot—*History of Mysore Famine* 1876-78, pp. 32-35.

[141] Digby, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 334 and 342. Review of Madras Famine 1876-78, p. 39.

[142] *Lord Lytton's Indian Administration*, pp. 228-229; Digby, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 348-50.

[143] Elliot—*History of Mysore Famine* 1876-78, p. 43.

[144] Sojourner—A note on the Indian Famine, *op. cit.*, p. 1; Digby, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 195-98.

The prices of food grains showed considerable increase during the period. The prices published by the Government were not always correct, as in the interior, where communications were difficult, prices were many times higher than the published prices in headquarter towns. Generally speaking, prices showed a tendency to rise till they reached their peak in January 1877. During the three following months, they registered a slight decline, but with the failure of spring crops they again rose and reached the highest point in July and August, when they were double the normal prices. But from September onwards, they started coming down.[151]

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[145] No. 1256, from C. Barnard Additional Secretary to the Government of India, P.W.D., Famine, Simla, 2nd May 1878 to the Secretary to Government N.W.P.; note on the results of the enquiries made into the mortality in N.W.P. and Oudh, F.C. 1880 Report Pt. III, p. 243-50. Review of Madras Famine 1876-78, p. 173; Dr. Cornish's letter to the Additional Secretary to the Government of Madras, Revenue Department, Madras 11th December 1878.

[146] Digby, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 102.

[147] Memorandum on Medical Administration of famine by W. C. Cornish, Surgeon Major, Sanitary Commissioner for Madras, dated, Madras 11th Jan. 1879.

[148] F.C. 1880, Report, Pt. I, para 81; Despatch from Secretary of State for India to the Government of India No. 59, dated, London, the 22nd August 1878.

[149] Famine Progs. No. 5, July 1882.

[150] F.C. 1880 Report Pt. I, para 81; For the various figures see Famine Progs. No. 2 (P.W.D.) September 1878; Despatch from Secretary of State for India to the Government of India No. 59, dated, London the 22nd August 1878; Famine Progs. P.W.D., Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 11, Sept. 1878. The influence of famine on growth of population, by W. R. Cornish Sanitary Commissioner Madras. Review of Madras Famine, p. 142-61.

The expenditure incurred by the Government was heavy and it was estimated by the Famine Commission of 1880 that the expenditure during the famine of 1877-78 incurred by the Government was about Rs. 111900000.[152] The loss to agriculture on account of the failure of crops was similarly great.

In the North Western Provinces alone, the loss to crops was estimated to have been worth Rs. 171000000.[153] The figures about

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[151] Famine Progs. Nos. 18-22, Feb. 1878, P.W.D. Famine.

Price of common rice per rupee was as follows:

Places	In Aug. 1876		In Jan. 1877		In March 1877		In Aug. 1877		In Dec. 1877	
	Srs.	Ch.	Srs.	Ch.	Srs.	Ch.	Srs.	Ch.	Srs.	Ch.
Bellary	10	8	7	0	8	2	5	5	6	5
Sholapur	12	3	9	7	9	7	4	11	7	12
Dharwar	14	14	7	14	8	1	4	3	10	3
Mysore	8	1	5	12	6	2	4	2	5	10
Calcutta	16	—	14	—	—	—	—	—	11	14
Balasore	32	—	22	—	—	—	—	—	18	0
Cuddapah	10	8	6	11	8	3	5	13	10	0

[152] The figures given in the provincial Famine Reports differ from the figures of the report of the F.C. of 1880. The latter had the provincial reports when it wrote its own. Famine continued in some parts even after 1878. For details see Review of Madras Famine 1876-78, Appendix I, p. 298, Elliot—History of Mysore Famine, pp. 189-93; Famine Progs. No. I, April, 1882, Famine Progs. No. 5, 16th June 1882 and No. 6, April 1880. The following figures are from F.C. 1880 Report para 71. These include loss of revenue also but not advances to land holders.

Famine expenditure in Madras	..	Rs.	8,00,00,000
„ „ „ Mysore	..	Rs.	1,09,75,000
„ „ „ Hyderabad	..	Rs.	46,35,000
„ „ „ Bombay	..	Rs.	1,43,40,000
„ „ „ N.W.P. and Oudh	..	Rs.	19,93,200
„ „ „ Punjab	..	Rs.	
		Rs.	11,19,43,200

[153] F.C. 1880 Report Pt. III, p. 204.

cattle mortality have been given above. These losses were natural as the famine of 1876-78 was more wide-spread and lasted for a longer period than any previous famine.

Review:—The famine of 1876-78 was severest in South India. It affected all classes of people and lasted for four years in different parts of the country. The policy adopted by the Government during the famine passed through two stages. In the first stage (from 1876 to August 1877) the measures adopted, especially in South India, suffered from controversies, mismanagement and confusion. The second stage began in August 1877, when a wiser policy was laid down and the famine administration was reorganised. The Government's policy, however, suffered from some of the same defects as had been observed during earlier famines. Relief measures in many cases were started late and suffered from the apathy of the Government officers.[154] The defects in the relief works, village relief and poor houses, and the strictness in the collection of revenue and consequential effect have already been described in the preceding pages. Relief to weavers, the first victims of such calamities, was less extensive in this famine than in the earlier ones. The Government of India had in 1865 passed an Act demarcating the reserved forests to preserve them from destruction, and forest administration had been organised. The effects of these Forest Laws were experienced when the failure of fodder caused great suffering, and no adequate measures could be adopted for the preservation of the cattle wealth of the affected regions.

The unpopularity of the Poor Houses clearly showed that people had no confidence in their rulers. The Christian missions countenanced by the Government converted large numbers of orphans to Christianity. People raised their voice against this and a number of societies came to be formed by the people, especially in Bombay, to help the orphans and save them from conversion.

The Government of India strictly adhered to the policy of non-interference with private trade and disallowed the Madras Government to store even a small amount of grain which the latter had 'confidentially' arranged through the help of a trading company. The arguments of the Government of Madras in favour of this step were strong and they rightly observed that in view of the Government's obligation to save life and the adoption of similar measures in 1873, it was necessary to take this action. Further they shrewdly remarked that while the Government interfered in the salt trade for the sake of revenue, their refusal to interfere with the grain trade to save peoples' lives was unconvincing.[155] The arguments were strong, but the Government of Lord Lytton refused to accept them and even to reduce railway freight on grain transported to Bombay and Madras. They also refused to interfere with the export trade in food grain which had serious consequences as grain, even from deficit areas, continued to be exported to England and other countries.[156]

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[154] Famine Progs. No. 1, April 1882; Sir George Couper and the Famine in the N.W.P., p. i.

The view of the Government of India was again wrong about the comparative utility of large and small works in times of famine. They realised their mistake at the end and acknowledged that the view of the Government of Madras favouring large works was correct. But the realisation came too late, after a lot of money had already been wasted over small local works of little public utility.

The appointment of Sir Richard Temple as Special Officer to advise local Governments on matters of famine after personal inspection was a step in the right direction. He had won a reputation in the administration of relief during the famine of 1873-74. His policy then had been criticised by British sympathisers as too liberal. His policy of strictness adopted now was probably a reaction to the criticism that had been showered on him. The wages paid during the famine were low and the Temple Wage was very inadequate.[157] Even the wages recommended by the Famine Commission were higher than those given at several places in the course of the famine.

Famine administration in many parts of the country was badly managed. It is sad to note that the officers in Mysore were quarrelling among themselves over matters of policy while the people were dying. The controversies on famine administration raised at this time paralysed relief measures several times.

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[155] Despatch of Madras Government No. 145, dated 23rd May 1878.
[156] S.R., N.W.P. 1876-79, pp. 1-3.
[157] Famine Progs. No. 30 June 1883.

Government expenditure was said to have been heavy, but when we look at the figures of poor relief in England itself, we find it to be very small.[158]

The famine again revealed the intense poverty of the people. According to a member of the Church Missionary Society the children of well-to-do families studying in one of his schools in Madras fainted in the class rooms on account of under—nourishment.[159] The Collector of Coimbatore reported that villagers sold their brass vessels, ornaments, field implements and even the thatch of their roofs, the frames of their doors and windows for food. A similar report about the sale of ornaments was made by G. L. Hynes, Mint Master at Bombay.[160] The condition of an agricultural labourer was thus described by one of the district officers in the North Western Provinces.[161]

'He never has any livestock (nor any other thing), except a few brass pots and his pick and spade, to supplement his scanty earnings. While agricultural labour is to be had, he is paid at various rates, which on the average bring him about rupees two per mensem—He can rarely afford to buy clothes and keeps himself warm by sleeping under a pile of straw.' One of the district officers on tour in the North Western Provinces reported: "Wherever I have been I have come across a lot of half-starved creatures".[162] It was this poverty which was responsible for the intense suffering of the people. The Government was aware of this fact, but they closed their eyes and evaded the issue.

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[158] In England in 1869, an amount of £ 7,70,000 was spent for poor relief for a small population of 20 million, quoted in Sir George Couper and the Famine of N.W.P., p. 56. In England during 1876-78, £ 21,000,000 was spent for Poor Law Administration for 1 million people per annum, vide, Digby, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 1.

[159] Digby, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 162.

[160] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 172-174.

[161] Report by W. C. Bennet on the mortality in the Lucknow and Rai Bareli Division, dated 20th Feb. 1879, S.R., N.W.P., 1877-79, p. 349.

[162] S.R., N.W.P., 1877-79, p. 179.

Reviews

MARWAR AND THE MOGHUL EMPERORS, (A.D. 1526 to 1748) by Visheshwar Sarup Bhargava, M.A., Ph.D., Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi-6. 1966 pp. XIV, 221 with IX Appendices, Bibliography and maps. Price Rs. 15/-.

The book is the outcome of the recent emphasis on the exploration of the regional history of parts of India, and is based on a study of extensive source material, in Persian and Rajasthani. It was submitted as a thesis for the Ph.D. degree of the University of Rajasthan. Rajasthan, styled as 'Paradise for historians' affords ample scope for building up an authentic narrative of the many-sided social and political developments of this region. This monograph traces the history of the relations between Marwar (the Rathor State of Jodhpur) and the first ten Moghal Emperors (A.D. 1526-1748). Particular emphasis is laid on the varied aspects of Moghul impact on Marwar, like the division of the State into *garh* and *pargana,* the military organisation, dress, manners and court etiquette.

The book contains eight chapters dealing with the minute details of the close relationship between the rulers of Marwar and the successive Moghul emperors. In chapters 1 and 2 (pages 1 to 19) particulars of Marwar on the eve of the Muslim conquest and Rao Ganga's relation with the Moghul Emperor Babur are outlined. Marudwana mentioned in *Sri Bhagavatam,* became Marusthala and Maruwar which finally assumed the name of Marwar, a sterile and sandy country, with the people speaking Marwari, a variation of Rajasthani. By the time the slave Sultan Iltutmish came to the throne of Delhi, a Rathor Rajput, Siha, migrated to Marwar and established his authority there. Rao Ganga of his line made a name for consolidating the State and fought under the leadership of Rana Sanga against Babur at Khanua. Under his son Maldeo Marwar reached the zenith of its power.

In Chapter 3, Maldeo's extensive conquests are outlined. He made capital out of the struggle between Bahadur Shah and Humayun, to consolidate and extend his possessions. But he suffered a reverse at the hands of Sher Shah Suri. He died in 1562 and then his son Rao Chandrasen (1562-1581) was installed on the *gadi,* at a time, when, owing to the absence of the law of primogeniture wars of succession arose. Chapter IV deals with Chandrasen's march against Emperor Akbar who routed him. He died in 1581 in his mountain retreat. His successor Mota Raja Udai Singh (1583-1595) befriended Akbar by giving his daughter Jagat Gossain in marriage to Prince Salim in accordance with the policy newly formulated by the political ambitions of Emperor Akbar. Through this marriage closer ties were cemented with the Moghuls and Udai Singh's services were used to suppress revolts against the Emperor (Chapt. V). His successors Raja Sursingh and Gajsingh gained much power and position by associating themselves with Jahangir and Shah Jahan. But the author feels that "Behind the veil of this material prosperity ran an undercurrent which had bad results also. As a result of close contact with rulers of Agra, the position of the rulers of Marwar was reduced to that of a mere hereditary Zamindar" (page 78). Chapter 6 deals with the exploits of Jaswant Singh (1638-1678), son of Gajsingh, who was honoured by Emperor Shah Jahan. He played a significant part in the war of succession to the Moghul throne by siding with the Emperor against Aurangzeb. Bernier and Manucci remarked that when Jaswant Singh was defeated, his Rani refused to give him entry into his fort as he was a defeated Rajput Rana. Subsequently he was reconciled to Aurangzeb who employed him in the Deccan and even against Persia. But, when, at a later stage, Aurangzeb changed his attitude to the non-muslims by adumbrating fanatic orders, the Rathors began a war of independence. The Emperor's short-sightedness in trying to convert the two posthumous sons of Jaswant Singh (born 1679) to Islam accelerated the bitterness. (Chap. 7). A life and death struggle ensued with the ruthless Emperor when Ajit Singh, the Marwar ruler, was imprisoned. Popular indignation in Marwar was roused by the burning of infants, ladies and cornfields and the demolition of temples. The Sisodiyas of Mewar made common cause with Durga Das of Marwar and started never-ending popular upraisings against the Moghal authority and indulged in guerilla warfare, by siding with Prince Akbar against Aurangzeb. Under the weakness of Aurangzeb's successors Rana Ajit Singh of Marwar regained Jodhpur, the capital, and purified it with Ganges water and Tulsi leaves. Both Ajit Singh and his son Abhai Singh (1724-1749) were recognised by Emperor Muhammad Shah and high *Manśab* and *Sawar* was conferred on them. With the invasion of Nadir Shah the Moghul empire was paralysed and this emboldened the Rajputs to strengthen themselves. The author concludes the narrative with the year 1749 when Abhai Singh died.

The Appendices at the end are exhaustive. The author has made use of original sources like Khyats, the Pancholi Mss. the several Moghal *Namas* of Moghul Emperors to attest to the veracity of the details furnished. As a connected and well-planned history of Marwar (1526 to 1748) the book is very useful.

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

CHINA: THREE FACETS OF A GIANT by Henry G. Schwartz. Published by P. C Manaktala and Sons, Private, Churchgate, Bombay-1.

This small book is based on three lectures delivered by the author at the China Study Centre, New Delhi, in June 1965. A wide ground in respect of China's recent history is covered. Schwartz critically examines in his first lecture the modern Chinese ideology of 'making a Communist society'. Naturally, with the proclamation of the People's Republic on 1st October 1949, problems of a great magnitude faced Mao-Tse-tung and his followers. The main objective of the Government was the provision of material comfort and peace of mind to the citizens. Some errors of policy were committed. At the outset there was too great a concentration on industrialisation to the neglect of agriculture. This was unfortunate in respect of a predominantly agricultural country like China. Between 1959 and 1962 agricultural disasters overtook the country and aggravated the popular suffering.

The Great Leap forward was, however, taken, one result of which was the abolition of private property. Much stir was caused and consequent cynicism followed. But, on the whole, it must be realised that since 1949 considerable economic progress has been made. The author fails to remember that it is a new civilization on trial, as much it has been in the USSR.

The second lecture is devoted to the examination of the difficulties in the 'Making of the Chinese Nation'. It is true that 5% of the non-Chinese population in China constitutes about 38 million people. There are also linguistic and religious minorities. But Schwartz is inclined to exaggerate the magnitude of the question. Many countries face the problem of minorities, and they are solving them or attempting to solve them. In China, at any rate, the minorities are not likely to prove insurmountable menaces to the Government.

The third lecture *'China and the World'* deals with the all-absorbing question of China's foreign relations. Prior to 1949, and even sometime after the Republic was established, the authorities in China neglected foreign affairs. But soon, impelled by the need of her domestic projects, China had to embark on a foreign policy. An alliance with the U.S.S.R. followed. China received many technicians and industrial experts from the U.S.S.R. Inevitably there was opposition to the U.S.A. and other capitalist countries.

But surprisingly, after 1958 an estrangement with the Russians appeared. The gulf has been widening, largely because China feels that Russia is her serious rival in controlling the World Communist movement. But China's need for technical aid has to be met. It is difficult to foresee how China would face her apparently conflicting needs.

In respect of India, China is jealous of the progress made after Independence. In order to make India slow down her industrial progress, she has resorted to threats of invasions and to play a deep game in the diplomatic field. But, as the author of the book rightly points out, Communist China is likely to become increasingly powerless to affect adversely India's economic development, though she can be a source of annoyance for some time.

This neatly printed book is a welcome addition to our knowledge of recent China about which the available information is not always authentic or full. Schwartz commands a lucid style and, therefore, the book is quite readable. But one is not sure whether his study is entirely impartial.

K. K. PILLAY.

LIGHT ON EARLY INDIAN SOCIETY AND ECONOMY by Professor Ram Sharan Sharma, published by P. C. Manaktala and Sons, Bombay, 1966; pages 151 + 17; price Rs. 22.50/-.

The small volume under review contains certain papers dealing with various aspects of the socio-economic life of ancient India, in which its author has specialised. The subjects of the studies in the twelve chapters of the book are the following: I. Historiography of the Social Order, II. Traces of Promiscuity in Society, III-IV. Joint Notices of Woman and Property and of Woman and Śūdra, V. Slavery, VI. Caste and Marriage, VII. Stages in Economy, VIII. Irrigation in Northern India, IX. Economic Life in the Gupta Period, X. Land Grants and Economic History, XI. Usury, and XII. Gaps in the Non-political History of North India. There is a bibliography and an index.

The different studies are not of similar length and importance. Thus Chapter VII runs to 38 pages and Chapter V, which is review-note on *L'sclavage dans L'Inde* by Dey Raj, to 4 pages. In most of the important dissertions, Prof. Sharma exhibits ingenuity and width of study.

Some of the topics are, however, controversial and there are points on which we are inclined to disagree with the learned author. By way of illustration, it may be mentioned that Chapter I appears to us more interesting and useful than Chapter II in which, in our opinion, incest, unchastity, polyandry and matriarchy have been confused with promiscuity which is quite different from the other concepts. Even freedom of sexual union on a particular occasion is not promiscuity in society, in its real sense.

In some cases, Prof. Sharma's views appear to be based on inadequate data while, in some others, his interpretation of the evidence cannot be regarded as easily acceptable. Thus he says, "The subjects of the Śātavāhana rulers enjoyed individual ownership of land, for they could give away plots of land, of varying size, to Buddhist monks. But they could not sell and purchase land for secular purpose" (p. 71). Since only a few records of the subject of the Śātavāhana rulers have so far been available, the suggestion may be characterised as based on the fallacy of *argumentum ex silentio*. Again, the passage *ta ca kheta na kasate so ca gāmo na vasati* has been explained as 'if the land is not cultivated, the village is not settled' (p. 72), though its real meaning is that the plot of land remained uncultivated because there was no cultivator in the village.

Chapter VII, referred to above, deals with the following stages in ancient Indian economy—(1) Urban Experiment (c. 2600-1500 B.C.), (2) Plough Cultivation (c. 1500-1000 B.C.), (3) Stabilization and Expansion (c. 1000-600 B.C.), (4) Iron and Towns (c. 600-322 B.C.), (5) Royal Control (c. 322-200 B.C.), (6) Grants, Money Economy and Roman Trade (c. 200 B.C. — A.D. 200), and (7) Feudal Beginnings (c. A.D. 200-500). Some of the suggestions offered in this section have also been discussed by Prof. Sharma elsewhere and we had also occasion to offer our comments on a few such views.

In spite of our difference of opinion with the author on some of the points of discussion, we have no hesitation in recommending the book to the student of the socio-economic history of ancient India.

D. C. SIRCAR

CASTE, CLASS AND POWER: Changing Patterns of Stratification in a Tanjore Village, by André Béteille, Published in India by Oxford University Press, Bombay, by arrangement with the University of California Press, 1966. Pages 238, Rs. 18/-.

The present century is turning out to be of revolutionary changes in the history of the caste system. During the last several centuries the caste system ran its smooth course without any radical or abrupt change. The many studies of the caste system also had tended to become monotonous in approach and static in description. The present work which actually follows the lead of the recent studies by Srinivas, Bailey and Dumont breathes some freshness in the subject. It attempts an assessment of the changes in the caste structure resulting from the impact of diverse social, economic and political factors.

The study is based on field work which the author conducted in the village called Sripuram in the Tanjore District of Madras State. The utility of such intensive case studies for underlining forces and tendencies applicable for a wider area now does not need arguments to justify it. For determining the changing patterns of social stratification Sripuram serves as an ideal case in many respects. Here along with the rigidity of the traditional caste structure the new forces affecting the caste system are quite perceptible and effective.

The author had all the advantages of knowing his material intimately and from within in as much as he had the privilege of living in a Brahmin house for about ten months. He is conscious of the limitations of this arrangement. Because of his associations with the Brahmins he became a suspect for the Non-Brahmins and Adi-Dravidas who could not become free with him. But in the context of the social stratification and antagonism of the village he had to make a choice out of the three and he did it with open eyes. As a foreigner he does not suffer from the kind of involvement which an Indian sociologist would experience in investigating the problem as a member of his own social organism.

The author rightly does not claim to have achieved objectivity in his study as "full objectivity in the social sciences is beyond attainment." The very fact that in a given society the investigator selects only a few problems to the neglect of others is an admission of the part played by the subjective element.

In chapter I the author underlines the general features of his study and introduces the cultural area of which his village forms a part. Chapter II gives an account of the physical structure of the village. The settlement pattern in the village follows the segregation of the three primary groups in the social structure — Brahmins, Non-Brahmins and Adi-Dravidas. The next three chapters discuss caste, class and power in the village, while Chapter VI deals with the changing patterns in the relation of these three systems. The author shows that whereas in the traditional structure the cleavages of caste, class and power often ran parallel, now they cut across one another. Cleavages of caste no doubt persist in several areas of life, but others are tending to become caste-free. The distribution of power is also radically changed with new bases of power replacing the traditional pattern. The process of modernisation gives the individual more possibilities of interpersonal relations cutting across the boundaries of old groups.

This complex phenomenon of changing social life is difficult to determine and still more difficult to describe in an intelligible form. We must say that the author has done his job with credit. The book provides an interesting study. We would however have liked to know more about his material, his method and his statistics.

LALLANJI GOPAL

PAURĀṆIC AND TĀNTRIC RELIGION: By J. N. Banerjea: Published by the Superintendent, Calcutta University Press, 48, Hazra Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta, 19, 1963, Price Rs. 12/50.

Professor J. N. Banerjea, famous Indologist and a great authority on Hindu Iconography and Indian numismatics, was keenly interested in the study of Paurāṇic and Tāntric religion on which he delivered a series of six lectures in April 1965 at the Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University. It is sad news that before Prof. D. C. Sircar could bring them out in book form the demise of Prof. Banerjea occurred in May, 1966.

There is an introductory discussion on the evolution of the religious systems of ancient India which can be broadly classified into Vedism, Brāhminism and Hinduism. Monier Williams' "Vedism, and Brāhminism are in a way the earlier phases of Paurāṇic and Tāntric cults which characterised the composite system conveniently described as Hinduism."

The development of the Vāsudēva cult is the theme of the second lecture. Prof. Banerjea accepts Hill's theory that at a certain stage in the development of the Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudēva cult some brilliant member of the sect composed the *Gīta*, working up its material "into a simple unity to meet the needs of his time," and emphasising the absolute supremacy of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudēva. The *Gīta* "contains the most essential features of Brahminism spun round the cult of Bhakti, with Vāsudēva in the centre."

In the third lecture Prof. Banerjea deals with Bhāgavatism which made appreciable progress by the beginning of the Christian era. The cult deity Vāsudēva had absorbed in himself the Vēdic Viṣṇu and the Brāhmanic Nārāyaṇa. The other constituent unit, according to R. G. Bhandarkar, was the Gōpāla-Kṛṣṇa element emphasising the incidents in the early life of Kṛṣṇa. Bhandarkar's suggestion has been that the Ābhīras, coming from outside, brought with them stories connected with the early life of Jesus Christ which in course of time were transferred to the Kṛṣṇaite mythology. This aspect of Kṛṣṇa's character, says Banerjea, "does not fit in at all with the character" of epic Kṛṣṇa; moreover the Kṛṣṇa stories had been current in India sometime before the first or second century A.D. and so "it will not be quite justifiable to say that they were not indigenous to India but were borrowals from Christianity."

Then follows a discussion of the development of the Vyūha concept of the Lord in the *Pañcarātra* theology. The germs of the doctrine contained in the *Gīta* were later developed and systematised in the *Pañcarātra* texts. The Bhāgavata creed prevailed in the immediate pre-Gupta, Gupta and early mediaeval periods in different parts of India and the *Avatāra Vāda* played a prominent part in the transformation of Bhāgavatism into Vaiṣṇavism. The worship of the *Avatāras* therefore became an important feature of Vaiṣṇavism.

In the fourth lecture, Saivism is dealt with, the roots of which unlike those of Vaiṣṇavism, may be traced to the pre-Vēdic or proto-historic religion of the land. The proto-Śiva and the Vēdic Rudra elements were in later times supplemented by many allied God-concepts. The fifth lecture deals with the main tenets of the Pāśupata system of which the Kāpālika and Kālamukha Śaiva creeds were extreme offshoots.

In the sixth lecture the learned Professor makes a review of Śakti worship and Tāntrism. There is much indirect evidence in regard to the existence of Śakti worship in the Indus Valley period. Though Macdonell's statement that goddesses occupy a subordinate position in Vēdic belief is substantially true, Banerjea points out that some of them appear however to have been held in high esteem. He further takes up sun worship and minor cults centred round Kārttikēya and Gaṇapati.

As shown above the six lectures are arranged cult-wise. Brief yet comprehensive, the book is the product of deep scholarship and a clear and critical analysis of the religious systems of ancient India. The index at the end adds to the utility of the book.

P. K. K. MENON

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION: By Hilaire Belloc (Oxford Paperbacks University Series), Publishers: Oxford University Press.

All outstanding books in the old Home University Library Series as well as certain others are now produced under the Oxford Paperbacks University Series. Books under this series are perfectly welcome, particularly for laymen who may not have access to the elaborately written and expensive books on the various important subjects. The primary object of this series is to provide authoritative introductions to most of the important branches of the humanities and sciences. The authors of these books are experts in the subjects concerned and they are also noted for their capacity to present the matter lucidly.

Over fifty years ago Hilaire Belloc produced his famous work on the French Revolution and presented an illuminating account of the interplay of principles and persons during that cataclysm in Europe. In this book the events between the meeting of the French States General in May 1789 and the execution of Robespierre in July are presented against the large framework of the causes and consequences of the French Revolution.

The book makes an interesting reading. The reader is not lost in the details. The author of the book lucidly stresses the economic, social, political, military, naval, religious and intellectual developments. The author is a distinguished Professor of Economic History at Oxford and a Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge. The note on further reading is brief but useful.

K. K. PILLAY

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE JATS OF NORTHERN INDIA: By M. C. Pradhan, Reader in Anthropology, Karnatak University, Dharwar. Oxford University Press, 1966. Pp. 275+XII. Price Rs. 25/-.

This is an abridged and revised edition of Dr. Pradhan's thesis approved for the Ph.D. degree by the University of London in December, 1961. It is a careful study of the origin and working of the caste and clan organisations and social and political systems of the Jats of Muzaffarnagar District of U.P. The author personally carried out the field work in several Jat villages of the district, and made an intensive study of the economic kinship, religious and political structure at the village level. He also studied inter-caste relations and the working of the modern *gram* (village) and *adalat* panchayats. The learned author has presented the result of his investigation in a scholarly manner in eight well-written chapters.

The work is one of Anthropology, but the main interest for the student of history is the inclusion in it of a section on history of the Jat political and tribal institutions in which the author has given a few original documents which he calls *farmans* or mandates from the Mughal rulers, such as, Akbar, Bahadur Shah I and Muhammad Shah. The authenticity of the first of these documents purporting to be a *farman* from Akbar, issued on 11th *Ramzan*, 898 *Hijri* is open to doubt. This document is said to have been drafted, written and issued by the Grand *Wazir* (*Wazir-i-Azam*) Abul Fazl and Raja Todarmal. Abul Fazl never held the office of a *Wazir*, much less that of *Grand Wazir*. Moreover, neither the *farmans* nor even *parwanas* were written in the manner and style of the above document. Nevertheless, the work is a valuable contribution to the history and working of local self-governing institutions of the Jats of Muzaffarnagar district. This work has shown that the village and caste panchayats had functioned more or less effectively during the mediaeval period. No other work has so far made such an intensive study of this subject. The learned author deserves congratulations for publishing his scholarly and well-written thesis.

A. L. Srivastava

MEDIEVAL MALWA, A POLITICAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY 1401-1562: By Upendranath Day, Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Nai Sarak, Delhi 6, 1965, pp. XII, 452, with 4 Appendices, Bibliography and Index. Price Rs. 30/-.

The book under review aims at reconstructing the history of Malwa as an independent kingdom, after the disintegration of the Sultanate of Delhi and prior to its incorporation into the Moghul Empire. A triangular fertile tableland, about 2000 ft. above sea-level, Malwa enjoys a salubrious and invigorating climate at the base of the Vindhyas. It reached the zenith of greatness, as a traditional seat of Indian culture, under Bhoja Paramara (1010-1055), a versatile scholar who wrote treatises on poetics, rhetoric, polity and philosophy. He suffered defeat from Someshwara I,, the Kalyan Chalukya ruler. Then the political power over Malwa passed to the Kalachuris. In 1233 A.D., there was the invasion of Sultan Iltutmish. In 1305 Malwa was annexed to the Delhi Sultanate. Muslim rule was imposed on Malwa and a number of Mussalmans were settled there, thus sowing the seeds of a composite culture. Under the mild rule of Feroz Tughlak, one Dilawar Khan proclaimed himself an independent ruler of Malwa.

The History of Malwa under Dilawar Khan Ghuri and his successors is succinctly narrated here, with the aid of the details furnished by Firishta, *Tabaquat-i-Akbari* by Nizamuddin *Ma'athir-i-Mahmad Shahi* of Shihab Hakim, *Tarikk-i-Nasishahi* and many other sources including Hindi, Sanskrit and Jain works. The book is in 16 chapters dealing with the founding of the kingdom of Malwa by Dilawar Khan Ghuri in 1401, the vicissitudes through which it passed, till Emperor Akbar incorporated it in 1562 as a Moghul Subah. Like most of the States, Malwa also passed through the formative, the stable and the decay periods.

Dilawar Khan extended his authority over Nimar, fought against Bundelkhand and maintained Kalpi as a buffer between Malwa, Jaunpur and Delhi. By his policy of toleration towards the Rajputs and the other Hindus living in Malwa, he gave a pulsating new life to Malwa. He also entered into matrimonial alliances to strengthen his position. He synthesised Hindu and Muslim styles of architecture in his mosques at Dhar and Mandu. At his death in 1406, his son and successor, Hoshang Shah saw initial reverses in life till, by a strategic move, he regained his possessions. He made several attempts against the Sultan of Gujarat which ended indecisively. Hoshang died of diabetes in 1434 A.D. though Shihab Hakim narrates the story of the fall of a ruby from his crown as the ill-omen for his death. Under his son Mohammad Khalji Malwa gained the zenith of its power when emissaries from Abu Said Mirza of Herat and Khalifa of Egypt met him. Under his successors Giyath Shah and Mahmud II the period of the decline of the kingdom set in. Emperor Akbar sent Abdullah Khan Uzbeg against Malwa who conquered it and incorporated it as a Subah in the Moghul empire.

But "what Malwa lost in the field of politics, it gained in the field of culture" (p. 394). In the midst of a fanatical religious environment, Malwa developed interesting features of social life revealing the genius of the people to unite the Muslims and the Hindus into a brotherhood. It is even stated that, unusual in history, Rajput kings kept Muslim wives in their harem, thus giving the lie to the statement that the Hindus were buried in a caste-ridden social prejudice. In fact the Muslims adopted and imbibed *Jauhar* from the Rajputs, with the sense of honour for women. As the author writes "thus in the social life of Malwa, a cultural synthesis took place which led the people to think of life in a light which we may call the 'Malwa way' of life." (p. 39) The Jain composition *Mandapachal Chaitya Paripati*, consisting of 23 verses talks high about religious toleration in Malwa, where 22 Jain temples with 562 Jain images were preserved; and the temple of Neminath at Hoshangabad (a town built by Sultan Hoshang) contains 24 images. In the field of architecture, painting, music and dance the synthesis was complete. Musicians like Baz Bahadur and Rupmati of Malwa have earned a lasting reputation. This integrated Malwa culture is unique in the history of India since there was nothing like Hindu or Muslim in it. The author has devoted chapters 13 to 15 to a descriptive account of the administrative system and the economic and cultural aspects.

On the whole the book is a substantial one, extremely comprehensive and ably fills a gap in the study of the provincial kingdoms with regard to their role in the medieval history of India.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE by C. M. Kulkarni. Publishers: Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay. Price Rs. 10/-.

Books on the history of Indian culture are many, and they seem to be still on the increase. The author of the book under review feels that many of the books recommended by the University are 'beyond the reach of the student'. Here he makes an attempt to provide a picture of the ancient Indian history and culture in a smaller compass. He has attempted to select the facts suitable for the undergraduates and interpret them. Though even undergraduates should not stop with these abbreviated accounts, yet in actual practice most of them depend exclusively on such simplified treatments of the subject, and to that extent, this book is welcome.

The style is simple and lucid. The selected illustrations are reproduced well. There is an useful summary at the end of each chapter.

Certain topics deserve a fuller treatment even than that provided here. For instance, the Bhakti movement in the South where several Saiva and Vaishnava saints of high repute are known to have played a great role is dismissed in a few sentences (p. 139). It is hardly necessary to emphasise here that their lives and teachings have inspired millions of Hindus through the ages.

The chapter on 'Cultural Empire' is found in its appropriate place. But there are a few exaggerations of the rather familiar pattern. They could have been avoided with advantage. The quotation from Sisira Kumara Mitra is a case in point (p. 261). Statements like 'Several Greek philosophers e.g. Thales (600 B.C.), Herodotus (500 B.C.) Empedocles (450 B.C.) seem to have taken their theories from the Vedas' (p. 266), remain to be proved. Nor is the reference of the indebtedness of Socrates, Plato and Pythagoras to Indian thought indubitably sustainable. There is a positive danger in such ideas finding a place in books intended for the youngsters.

The last chapter which recounts the achievements of the Hindus in the field of religion and philosophy, and particularly in positivism and exact sciences is interesting.

The book is well produced. The index is good. A bibliography or a reading list is essenial, particularly in a book of this kind; students and teachers should at least know the names of the bigger books on the subject.

K. K. PILLAY.

DR. MUHAMMAD SHAHIDULLAH PRESENTATION VOLUME, edited by Muhammad Enamul Haq; published by the Asiatic Society of Pakistan, 1966; price, Pak. Rs. 25/-.

This volume was published on the eightieth birth anniversary of the doyen of Pakistani linguists and philologists, the venerable Dr. Shahidullah, one of the founders of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan. It has been ably edited by Dr. M. Enamul Haq, Director of the Central Board for the development of Bengali, and contains 28 papers of a high standard, besides a fairly detailed "Editor's Note" in which the editor delineates the salient features of the life of the Doctor and his works. The papers comprise seven on religious topics, six on language and linguistics, five on history and biography, three on literature, and one each on numismatics, education, communism, philosophy, art and architecture. All these papers are from the pen of renowned scholars not merely of Pakistan but also of India and the West. The religions represented are Buddhism, Hinduism and certain aspects of Islam, the languages cover the fields of Kohistani dialects, Bengali, old Persian, Kannaḍa and Prakritic languages; while the historical problems discussed are the importance of the eighteenth century in India, the date of Kanishka, the Biography and literary contributions of Nawwab Siddiq Hasan K͟hān of Bhopal, a secret letter from the Amir of Buk͟hara to the Government of India, and 'Alivardi Khan. The topics represented equate to some extent with the subjects which Dr. Shahidullah has at heart, for his profuse writings include many more topics. His knowledge of Sanskrit and Bengali is as profound as his knowledge of Persian and Urdu or of English and French. He taught Sanskrit at the Calcutta University before he was appointed as a Lecturer in the department of Sanskrit and Bengali at the Dacca University in 1921 when he made Dacca his home. A devout Muslim as he is, he has adopted the Sanskrit title of "Jñānānanda Swami" or a Swami who finds comfort in knowledge. His versatility would be evident from the fact that he has to his credit 23 books in English and 65 works and articles in Bengali. The thesis which earned him his Doctorate from the Sorbonne was on *Les Chants Mystiques,* and deals with the earliest songs of the Bengali mystics known as *Charyapadas,* while another of his French books, *Les Sons du Bengalie* deals with Bengali phonetics.

The Felicitation Volume is a fine tribute to one of the greatest linguists of the Indo-Pak. sub-continent who has contributed in no small measure to the cultural understanding between India and Pakistan.

It may be noted that for reasons best known to the learned editor, the order in which the papers have been printed follows the surnames of the authors, while the papers are distributed throughout the volume in a very disconnected form. It would have been better if the papers had been classified according to the topics with which they deal, for a reader is generally interested more in the subject matter than in the names of the authors.

H. K. SHERWANI.

TRADE AND COMMERCE OF ANCIENT INDIA (C. 200 B.C.— C. 650 A.D.) by Haripada Chakraborti, M.A., Ph.D., Academic Publishers, Calcutta, pp. xxii, 354, Price Rs. 25/-.

In recent years economic history has received the attention of several scholars and researchers working on the ancient period of Indian history. The need for economic studies has been voiced from different platforms. One notices an increase in the number of articles concerning economic history of ancient India that appear in the research journals or are submitted at different learned congresses and conferences. We also find seminars being organised on different aspects or phases of ancient Indian economic history.

The present book is a welcome addition to the list of research works on economic history of ancient India that have appeared recently. It was Dr. Haripada Chakraborti's thesis which was approved for the Ph.D. degree of the Visva Bharati.

The author attempts to trace the history of India's trade and commerce, inland and foreign, during the period C. 200 B.C. to C. 650 A.D. During this period there was a high tide of the trade activity. The thesis excludes the Mauryan period proper from its purview. For that reason however the account does not suffer from paucity of evidence. The period is rich in source material of diverse nature. The author utilises the rich evidence of the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Jātakas* also, because he believes that in its present form the *Arthaśāstra* cannot be earlier than the first century A.D. and because competent authorities now think that the bulk of the *Jātaka* stories appear to belong to the earlier period of his study. The utility of the book would have been increased by an exhaustive bibliography in the absence of which one cannot check if he has utilised a particular source. We are not sure if the author is aware that on the subject of trade and commerce in ancient India Dr. Moti Chandra in his Hindi book *Sārthavāha* makes a refreshing analysis of the existing material, collecting information from diverse sources.

In the first chapter Dr. Chakraborti describes the trade routes between India and the western countries and in this context traces the history of her trade relation with Rome, Egypt, Arabia, Middle East, Iran and the Caspian region. He then discusses the routes of India, both land routes and water ways, the coastal traffic and the connection between North and South by sea and also includes an account of the sea trade. This is followed by a description of the trade-route to China and the Far East. Two maps facing pages 1 and 32 mark the trade routes connecting India with the known regions in the East and the West. At the end of the book there is a map of the route Yuan Chwang took in his journey to and from India. These maps could have been more useful if Dr. Chakraborti had coordinated them with the narrative in his book. One feels that the material in the first chapter could have been arranged in a more systematic manner.

In the second chapter on means of communication the author refers to the use of carts, chariots, boats, elephants, etc. He gives a detailed account of the use of boats and ships collecting much useful material from South Indian literature. He however does not take notice of the evidence of the *Aṅgavijjā*.

Chapter III gives a detailed account of the ports and coastal marts of India. This is one of the more useful sections of the book. Dr. Chakraborti enumerates the ports grouping them into eight regions. These divisions are made "according to the principle of language, laid down by Grierson in his Linguistic Survey of India." Dr. Chakraborti devotes some space describing the languages and defining the areas concerned. One fails to see why Dr. Chakraborti introduces these linguistic divisions in his economic study when the usual geographical divisions could have served his purpose.

The chapter on inland towns of India is equally exhaustive. Dr. Chakraborti does not restrict himself to the role of these cities in the trade and commerce of the period; he gives a connected account of their history.

In the next two chapters the items of export and import are conveniently collected under broad groups consisting of slaves, animals or animal products, plant products, wood and mineral products. In these chapters Dr. Chakraborti collects whatever evidence he could find about the actual use of these commodities.

Chapter VII on trade laws discusses the regulation and control of different aspects of trade by the State and collects valuable information from the *Mahābhārata, Arthaśāstra* and the *Smṛtis.* Chapter VIII deals with corporate activities. It however does not make any significant improvement upon the treatment of the subject done by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in his *Corporate life in Ancient India.* Here Dr. Chakraborti does not confine himself to trade guilds but takes a detailed notice even of evidence concerning craft guilds.

In the appendix the author discusses the supposed Persian embassy depicted in Cave I of Ajanta and infers that "the intercourse between India and Iran in the 7th cent. was not only cultural and political but also commercial in character."

Dr. Chakraborti deserves our thanks for collecting much useful information in his book. He rightly claims that he has "not stated anything which is not supported by suitable evidences." He is also to be commended for having "avoided the tendency of theorising." But somê readers may expect a historian not to confine himself to mere cataloguing of facts and, if not raising and answering significant questions, to analyse the evidence for whatever inference it may yield. Thus in Chapter VII we may expect him not merely to list the regulations but also to bring out the differences in the attitudes of the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Smṛtis.*

One should not unnecessarily find fault with Dr. Chakraborti for what he has omitted because in such a vast subject one has to be selective for being able to do justice to at least some important points. But in any case one may expect some discussions about the coinage system and the credit system.

LALLANJI GOPAL.

THE ENGLISH REFORMATION TO 1558 by T. M. Parker (Oxford Paperbacks University Series) Publishers: The Oxford University Press, Price 7/6 net.

This book deals with the rise and growth of the Reformation in England during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary. The author examines objectively the conflicting forces, both political and religious, which shaped the Reformation. His estimate of the regime of Wolsey and the royal divorce shows his deep understanding of human nature. His assessment of Wolsey's place in English history is well worth reproduction. He writes: "His (Wolsey's) end marked the close of an epoch in English history as, in a lesser sense, his rise had been the beginning of one. Last of the great English ecclesiastical statesmen of the Middle Ages, he had been, in his amphibious and paradoxical position, at once servant of King and Pope, maintaining by means of this fact an illogical concentration of the power of Church and State, a living anomaly."

The author of the book traces the development of the Reformation and the reaction it caused. The peculiarities of the English Reformation as distinct from the continental Reformation are carefully analysed.

Books on the Reformation are quite numerous. The distinctive feature of the book under review is that the theological controversies of the age are examined in close relation to the secular and political tendencies of the 16th century. This enhances the topical usefulness of the book to modern readers.

It seems that the period of survey should have included the reign of Elizabeth. Elizabeth's reign was really a formative period. Though the English Reformation did not end in 1558, undoubtedly the reign of this Queen did constitute an epoch in the religious history of England.

The Select Bibliography is good; but, it is not seen why a book like 'English Government Finance (1485-1558)' by Dietz, F.C. should find a place in it, while some important books on the Reformation are omitted.

K. K. PILLAY.

EARLY CHOLA ART by S. R. Balasubrahmanyam, published by Asia Publishing House, Bombay, etc., 1966; pages 265 with 115 illustrations and some sketches; price Rs. 60/-.

The good printing and get-up of the volume under review attract the eye of an Indian reader used to badly produced publications. Unfortunately, the book is printed without diacritical marks in the Sanskritic and Dravidian words and names transliterated into Roman, and it is especially deplorable in a work of this kind (cf. Glossary of Technical Terms at pp. 260-65).

The author deals with the period covered by the reigns of the Chōḷa Kings Vijayālaya (c. 850-71 A.D.) and his son and successor Āditya I (871-907 A.D.) and says that Part II of the work would continue the discussion down to the accession of Rājarāja I in 985 A.D. The book is the result of considerable fieldwork, the author having brought to our notice a number of little known monuments. His attempt at a systematic presentation of the information gathered by him on the subject, in a comprehensive way, is worthy of praise.

The author's attention may, however, be drawn to some features which we regard as defects in the treatment of the subject, so that he may consider them at the time of revising the book for a second edition. In the first place, the name of the treatise suggests that its subject is 'the Chōḷa art', though the discussion is practically confined to 'architecture'. Secondly, the temples ascribed by him to the early Chōḷas include those belonging to the territories of contemporary rulers of such other dynasties as the Gaṅgas, Bāṇas, Nolambas, Vaiḍumbas and later Pallavas, none of whom owed allegiance to the Chōḷas at least in the days of Vijayālaya. There is really no support in favour of the author's supposition that "Kanchipuram seems to have passed into the hands of the Chōḷas during the reign of Vijayālaya" (pp. 75-76). Thirdly, for the benefit of the readers, there should have been an index and a bibliography or more copious references in the body of the book.

It is unnecessary to discuss the points on which we may be inclined to disagree with the author's views. But the theory that Murugan was originally a local deity of Tamilnāḍ later identified with Kārthikeya, which the author shares with most Tamil writers (p. 4), seems to us less satisfactory than Venkayya's suggestion that *Murugan* is the translation of *Kumāra,* another name of Kārthikeya. If Murugan was essentially a Dravidian local god, his popular name in the South could hardly have been *subrahmaṇya* which refers so pointedly to the god's association with Brāhmaṇism, although the typical Brahmanical character of the deity cannot be determined. It is doubtful whether the mention of the said god in a Tamil work can be assigned to a date between 250 B.C. and 250 A.D. (p. 3).

We recommend the work to the students of art and architecture.

D. C. SIRCAR.

MODERN CONSTITUTIONS by K. C. Wheare (Oxford Paperbacks, University Series), Publishers, Oxford University Press, Price 7/6 net.

This book is intended to provide authoritative information on the nature of the modern constitutions and problems connected with the structure and development of constitutions in general.

The opening chapter is concerned with the definition of a constitution and the determination of its features. Thereafter, he devotes a considerable part of the book to the discussion of the problem of change in constitutions and the processes of formal amendment, of judicial interpretation and of usage and convention. In the opinion of the reviewer, a preponderatingly large importance has been given to this aspect of the subject. Other important matters which could have been legitimately considered in this book are "The Constitution and the Judiciary', and 'Fundamental Rights guaranteed by Constitutions.'

In respect of classification, after setting aside the outdated pattern of division into written and unwritten constitutions, he adopts the classification of constitutions into rigid and flexible ones, on the basis of the methods adopted to amend them. He adopts also the classification of constitutions into 'federal' and 'unitary', and it is notable that he characterises the present Indian constitution as quasi — federal, (p. 21). Finally the constitutions are classified into those which have the presidential executive and those which have the parliamentary executive.

Writing about the prospects of constitutional government he emphasises that War and Communism are two potential forces which may endanger constitutional government temporarily or otherwise.

On the whole, the book seeks to provide a comparative and analytical study. It is by no means exhaustive; nor does it profess to be so. His select bibliography is chosen with care and discrimination. The author of the book, Sir Kenneth Wheare is at present the Vice-Chancellor of the Oxford University. He has been the Rector of Exeter College, Oxford, since 1956, and was Gladstone Professor of Government and Public Administration at Oxford from 1944 to 1957. He is the author of some notable books on politics, the most important of which is 'Federal Government'.

K. K. Pillay

THE BODHGAYA TEMPLE: By Tarapada Bhattacharyya, M.A., D.Litt. (Cal.), pp. 1-40; 22 plates (8½ in. × 5½ in.) K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1966.

In this booklet, Dr. Bhattacharyya has touched on the vexed problem of the antiquity of the Bodhgaya Temple. He has no doubt ransacked other materials as well as brought out Puranic evidence to his aid. Unfortunately, unless a stratigraphic excavation is carried out we cannot accept the Puranic evidence to say that the cult of Vishnu was prevalent at Bodhgaya before the time of the Buddha, as also that of Dharma or of Brahmā. In all probability Barua is right when he says that Bodhgaya arose as a site of Hindu pilgrimage much later and this is also my experience from the study of the Puranas and three archaeological excavations viz., at Dwaraka, Nasik and Tripuri; and Hastinapur evidence also points to the same conclusion.

H. D. Sankalia

UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS ON PALESTINE 1947-1965: Edited by Sami Hadawi. Publishers: The Institute for Palestine Studies, Lebanon.

This is a compilation of texts of United Nations Resolutions on Palestine during the period, 1947-1965. Though there had been certain compilations, as in 1954 and 1961, this is fuller and up-to-date. Here the full texts of Resolutions adopted on the Palestine question by the General Assembly, the Economic and Social council, the Trusteeship Council and the Security Council are given. The compilation includes excerpts pertinent to Palestine from the United Nations Charter and the full text of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Resolutions pertaining to the partition of Palestine, Invasion of Egypt by England—France—Israel and Assistance to Palestine Refugees are particularly interesting. The deliberations of the Trusteeship Council regarding the internationalization of Jerusalem and the appeals of the Security Council for law and order are important in understanding the recent history of the region. It contains useful Appendices like Plan of Partition, 1947, Palestine Conciliation Commission Reports, 1949-65, Assistance to Refugee Reports, 1949-65 and Text of Statute of City of Jerusalem. There is no doubt that this publication is a useful source book.

K. K. PILLAY

INDIA UNDER THE KUSHĀṆAS: By B. N. Puri, published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1965; pages 268 with a map and 13 Plates; Price Rs. 20/-

Dr. B. N. Puri of the National Academy of Administration, Mussourie, wrote on various aspects of the history of the Kushāṇas in the periodicals some years ago. He has now offered us a fairly connected and comprehensive account of the political and cultural history of the Kushāṇa age, and we are thankful to him for the volume. The get-up of the book is good though there is no dearth of misprints and similar blemishes.

The book under review is divided into eleven chapters, the first four of them dealing with political history and the remaining seven with such topics as administration, social life, economic life, education, religious condition, literature and art and architecture. There are two appendices, one on Kushāṇa numismatics and the other giving a list of Kushāṇa inscriptions. There are also a bibliography and an index.

The history of the Kushāṇas is full of controversial problems and Dr. Puri has tried to solve them in his own way. On many such cases, however, we have found it difficult to agree with the learned author. By way of illustration, reference may be made to the case of Kanishka of the Ara inscription of year 41. This King is usually believed to have flourished in the year 41 of the Kanishka era, which falls in the reign period of Huvishka (from year 28 to year 62). Dr. Puri argues that both the said Kanishka and Huvishka enjoyed imperial style so that the two could not have flourished at the same time. He therefore places Kanishka of year 41 at a later epoch and does not refer even Vasishka's dates in years 24 and 28 to the Kanishka era. The theory does not appeal to us. The argument about the simultaneous rule of two Kings bearing imperial titles loses its force when we note that a series of Śaka coins was issued by Azes I and Azilises and another group by Azilises and Azes II, all the three rulers enjoying imperial style. Thus, in the Scytho-Kushāṇa administration, the existence of two rulers with imperial titles flourishing in the same kingdom simultaneously was not an uncommon feature. At least Dr. Puri's arguments are not enough to justify the reference of the years 24, 28 and 41 of the records of Vasishka and his son Kanishka to any other reckoning than the Kanishka era.

We have noticed important omissions in the bibliography, the most notable among them being the *Mathurā Inscriptions* by H. Lueders, edited by K. L. Janert, Goettingen, 1961; W. B. Henning's paper on the Surkh Kotal inscription in *BSOAS*. 1960; note on the bearing of the Toprakkala documents on the Kanishka era in *Journ Ind. Hist.,* 1960.

Among misprints the most serious are those relating to the dates of the Kushāṇa inscriptions quoted in the list (pp. 229 ff., Nos. A-14, B-2, B-4, B-15, B-40, B–65, etc.). The learned author may remove such blemishes in the future edition of the work.

D. C. SIRCAR

EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY (1914 to the present): By Paul Scherer, Ph.D., Review Publications, Rastogi Street, Subhash Bazar, Meerut, (India), 1966. Price Rs. 10/-

Europe since 1914 has seen two devastating World Wars. It has seen revolution and reorganisation, the collapse of colonial empire; the varying phases of the cold war which at times got close enough to being a regular 'hot' war. It has been a half-century of conflict, destruction followed by reconstruction, followed yet again by tension.

Dr. Paul Scherer's book on 'European Diplomacy' is also a study of this crucial and complex era tracing the events of international relations, within the context of Europe, underlining wherever possible the reasons for lapses of diplomacy which led to the outbreak of the two disastrous wars. This has been done not merely in terms of names, dates, and military campaigns (except where these are of lasting significance), but in terms of the ideological conflicts that were the prime movers of the events of the period. The writer does not at all believe in learning by trial and error in the domain of international politics. He writes: "All too often specialists in international relations have neglected history, making their studies lacking in perspective. Some historians, on the other hand, have been all too willing to write off the advances made by the other social scientists in the last several decades. We cannot afford to compartmentalize ourselves within our parochial prejudices any longer. In the context of our present dilemmas, professional pride is too costly a luxury. Breadth of approach and objectivity of analysis may well be matters of life or death."

The subject matter has been placed under ten main heads. In his first chapter, wherein he explains the importance of history, problems of international anarchy in the 20th century, the old and the new 'open' diplomacy in Europe, the writer identifies the ideological currents of the time and describes how they foreshadow the crisis to come. Dr. Scherer treats the years since 1945 as fully and critically as the years between the wars. The writer deals in detail with the Marshall Plan, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Korean War, Warsaw Pact, de-Stalinization, Suez Crisis, Monnet's Plan, Schuman Plan, EFTA and E.E.C. This enables him to examine things in a proper perspective and give the book a width of interest and comprehensiveness. Not only are political events examined, but the economic consequences emerging from political conflict also receive proper treatment.

The book is quite original in conception as well as arrangement of material used by Dr. Scherer. The author has expressed opinions and passed judgments. I believe that the historian should make his views explicit. If the reader disagrees, at least he knows what he is disagreeing with. Dr. Scherer plays with his cards on the table. There is lucidity of treatment and everything is above board.

This book, though handy and small in bulk, is extremely readable and has that easiness of style and quiet flow which comes out of freedom from cliches and jargon that disfigure some of our contemporary writings. Dr. Scherer provides the reader eager to understand events with more than a mere catalogue of political, military, and social events. For the reader seeking a sense of direction through the past and present and into the future of our world, this is an authoritative guide. Studded with well-drawn maps this book is well-fitted to adorn the shelves of every library in every country. The printing and getup leave no room for complaint and the price is such as to place it within the reach of all. The only fly in the ointment is that the book is not provided with an index. That, however, does not in any manner mar the beauty of the book which lies in able treatment of the subject matter.

D. Awasthi

EARLY MODERN EUROPE — From about 1450 to about 1720: By Sir George Clark (Oxford Paperbacks University Series). Publishers: Oxford University Press. Price Rs. 7/6 net.

This book is written by an authority on European history. It is a reprint of the fourth section of a work by various authors, running from prehistoric times to the present, which was published in 1954 under the title of 'The European Inheritance.' The illustrations found in the original book have been omitted here.

The period covered in this book is an epoch-making one in the history of Europe. The transition from the mediaeval to the modern age as well as the development of the forces of the early modern age are stressed here in their proper proportions.

The salient points of the old order and the new in the fifteenth century are skilfully elucidated in the opening chapter. The rest of the book contains amidst others, an examination of the Renaissance and its significance, the rise and progress of the Reformation and the consequent Wars of Religion. The history of colonisation during the period and the development of science and thought also receive the attention due to them. The improvement in transport was in particular very marked.

It is difficult to choose the events of importance from a story of stirring occurrences. But the author of this book has a flare for picking up the most arresting events for special treatment. Nevertheless, the author's personal predilictions and deep-seated convictions account for special emphasis upon certain features to the exclusion of others. For instance, his ardent faith in Catholicism is responsible for a fairly long and important chapter on the relationship between the revolutionary spirit and Catholicism.

His treatment of the character and activities of the important personalities connected with the Revolution is scholarly and admirable. His estimate of Marie-Antoinette and La Fayette is well balanced. Concerning La Fayette he writes: "It may be said of La Fayette with justice that he never upon a single occasion did the right thing. It may also be said with justice that he never did politically any major thing for which his own conscience would later reproach him."

The book does not contain a bibliography. The editors should have provided it.

K. K. PILLAY.

ANCIENT INDIA: A text-book of History for Middle Schools: By Romila Thapar, published by Publication Unit, National Council of Educational Research and Training, 114, Sundar Nagar, New Delhi-11. Price Rs. 3.60.

On the initiative of the National Council of Educational Research and Training, an Editorial Board was set up in 1965 to compile model text books in History, graded in accordance with a formulated curriculum for use in secondary schools. This book on Ancient India, written by Dr. Romila Thapar, is the first in the series of six text books intended to suit both the ten-year and eleven-year patterns of schooling. The idea is to familiarise the young pupil with regional history on the background of national developments which, again, have to be looked at from the world perspective. The eighth and the eighteenth centuries are taken as the dividing lines between the ancient and the mediaeval and the mediaeval and the modern ages, consistent with distinctive changes in the socio-political set up, rather than mere dynastic changes. The three periods are to be covered at two levels, the second being advanced, so that the pupil is enabled to understand the underlying forces and trends in the evolution of the great Indian civilization as well as the fundamental unity of national culture transcending all kind of differences. The book, written in simple, clear and pleasant style is expected to offer a stimulus to intellectual curiosity. Divided into nine chapters and provided with charts, maps, illustrations, summaries, exercises, glossary and vocabulary, the book satisfies a long-felt need, but its value will be evident only if it is uniformly adopted, in its original or translated form, in all schools in India. The series, incorporating the latest results of research, would generate a feeling of national unity in the young minds and give them a correct perspective of the past.

P. K. K. Menon

A HISTORY OF INDIAN PUBLIC LIFE, Vol. II, by Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, pp. xx, 334. Oxford University Press, 1966. Price Rs. 37.50.

The volume under review is one of the best books from the pen of Dr. U. N. Ghoshal. Its first part is full of interesting and useful information about one of the most creative periods of ancient Indian history, the pre-Maurya, which saw the evolution of a common Indian culture, introduction of a common geographical term, Jambudvīpa, for the entire country, great religious movements like Jainism and Buddhism, and progress in various fields, political, social and economic. The account of the Maurya period, in Part II, is good but not so comprehensive.

Among his sources of information for the pre-Maurya period, Dr. Ghoshal lists the *dharmasūtras,* the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, the *Jātakas,* the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, archaeological remains and foreign notices. But one could have been better satisfied with the account, if he had given greater evidence to substantiate his view that Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* reflects pre-Mauryan conditions. The arguments he adduces to prove its pre-Kautilyan character are

(a) That in the *Arthaśāstra* an all-India dominion is an aspiration and not an achievement;

(b) That the account of the Maurya administration by Megasthenes is different from that of Kauṭilya.

(c) That the nomenclature of Maurya officials in Asokan inscriptions has little in common with that of the officials in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra.*

These arguments, however, can at the most prove that the *Arthaśāstra* is not a treatise of the Maurya period. There is nothing in them to demonstrate its priority. Argument (a) would make even Kāmandaka a pre-Mauryan writer; for in his description of the *Maṇḍala* theory an all-India dominion is as much an aspiration as in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra.* Similarly, if difference of nomenclature, etc., stressed in (b) and (c) be any good ground to assign a book to the pre-Maurya period, many others besides *KA* (Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*) could claim that antiquity. In fact, however, all that this sort of negative evidence can prove is that Kauṭilya's time was different from that of Megasthenes and Aśoka. It cannot decide between his priority or posterity to them. H. C. Raychaudhuri had, it might be interesting to note, with these very arguments before himself regarded *KA* as a post-Candragupta work. While reading this excellent book of Dr. Ghoshal, we have therefore to keep in view the fact that his description of political life in the pre-Maurya period is to be regarded as fully accurate only if we assume that *KA* is a pre-Maurya work.

Chapters II–IX of Dr. Ghoshal's book deal with monarchic polity, the dominant state type of the pre-Maurya period. In Chapter II, analysis of the King's Civil List and the list of the *tīrthas* rightly leads him to the conclusion that the quartet of officers, the *yuvarāja,* the *purohita,* the *mantrī* and the *senāpati* constituted "the apex of the bureaucratic system". In an appendix to the chapter, he discusses the significance of the abnormal political organizations, *arājya, gaṇarājya, yauvarājya, vairājya, dvairājya* and *viruddharājya.* His suggestion that *vairājya* is a political community ruled by a foreign King suits the *KA* text. The chapter has appendices also on the "Status of *Manrtrīs* in Pāṇini's grammar and *KA*" and the "Officials of the pre-Mauryan Age".

Chapter III describes the working of the monarchic central government. The King, who stood at its apex, was given a specialized type of education which made him fully efficient 'in the three Vedas as well as in philosophy and to be pure and of subdued senses." Higher education was often completed in centres like Takṣaśilā, where the pupil received instruction in *dhanurveda* (military science) and other practical arts. On ascending the throne, he was naturally required to exercise full control over his servants. This was done by employing spies and maintaining hold over the two essential departments, the treasury and the army.

Chapter IV deals elaborately with Political Organization under the heads (1) Public security and welfare, (2) Security and progress of the State and (3) Development of the Brahmanical pattern State. The State saw to the protection of people from external as well as internal dangers; and by exempting Vedic students, women, ascetics and Śūdras from taxes provided for public welfare. The *Kaṇṭakaśodhana* courts ensured their protection from unsocial elements. Waste lands were developed, trade routes maintained and charity-houses opened for the needy. The Brahmanical pattern of the State, which consisted in the rulers seeing to the performance of *varṇa* and *āśrama* duties by the people, might have been, as stated by Dr. Ghoshal, a result of the reaction against the latitudinarian policy of the heterodox movements like Buddhism and Jainism.

Chapter V is concerned with Economic Organization and deals with the subject under the heads, (a) Economic development of waste lands, (b) State agricultural, industrial and commerical policy, (c) State capitalism in the branches of State agricultural farms, State forests and mines as well as State industrial concerns, (d) State control of weights and measures, and (e) State regulation of currency and exchange. Mainly the account is based on *KA*. In section (e), the author takes up the important question of the authority responsible for the issue of punch-marked coins. In his opinion the standard weight of the coins corroborates the view that they were issued by a central authority.

Chapter VI is devoted to Finance. Again *KA* is the main source of information. It is one of the most informative chapters in the book.

Chapter VII deals with Law and Justice. Regarding the sources of law, his interpretation of the Kauṭilyan verse *dharmaśca vyavahāraśca*, etc., is interesting as well as original. But when the *KA* itself defines *dharma* and *vyavahāra* by saying *"tatra satye sthito dharmo, vyavahāraśca sākṣiṣu"*, it becomes rather difficult to agree with Dr. Ghoshal's view that *dharma* and *vyavahāra* respectively meant *dharmaśāstra* and current or *Arthaśāstra* law. But his reconstruction of the duties of the *kaṇṭakaśodhana* courts is eminently satisfactory and clears up many doubts about their functions and composition.

Chapters VIII and IX entitled respectively "Military Organization" and "Local Government" are mainly based on *KA*.

Chapter IX deals with the Republican and Mixed constitutions of the sixth century B.C. He proves that the Lichchhavis had a republican constitution in which supreme authority lay with the Popular Assembly of the State and a President elected by that body. The Śākya republic is shown to have had a mixed constitution. It had a hereditary monarch and a sovereign popular assembly fully competent to deal with important problems like peace, war and diplomatic relations.

The important topic of Interstate Relations is discussed in Chapter XI; and the kingdoms and republics of the Indus Valley are described in Chapter XII. The author gives a good account of the governmental structure of the free city of Nyasa with a governing body of 300 men, the Yaudheya aristocracy whose assembly had 500 members, the Oxydrakai and Malloi (the Kṣudrakas and Mālavas) who tried to join hands in opposition to Alexander, and the democratic Abastanoi (Ambaṣṭhas) who elected three generals for defence but on hearing the counsels of their elders decided not to go to war. He deals in brief also with the causes of the downfall of the States of the Indus Valley.

The subject of Chapter XIII is indicated by its title, "Summary and Conclusions". It would be easy here to concur with him, if one agreed with his view that *KA* is a pre-Maurya treatise.

Part II of the book devotes eight chapters totalling 74 pages to Public Life in the Maurya period. The account given is highly reliable. With the view that he holds, the author naturally does not use *KA* for this part.

The book deserves being read by every student of Indian Public Life. The get-up and printing of the book are good. But the price, Rs. 37.50, for a book of 324 pages is a little too high. One wishes it were within the reach of students of moderate means.

Dasharatha Sharma

GOA AND ITS FUTURE: By Sarto Esteves, Manaktalas, Bombay, Pp. 146. Price Rs. 12.

There are many books and pamphlets dealing with Goa but most of them were written before India wrested freedom for the enclave from Portuguese colonial rule. This is the first book which brings the study upto 1966 and contains an interesting as well as illuminating account of this place. The author's assessment that the people of Goa would not like to merge with Maharashtra has proved to be correct but his advocacy of the theory that it has a right to be a separate state, to maintain its distinctiveness, has been disproved. The referendum, held early this year, clearly shows that Goa would continue to remain a Union Territory like Delhi, NEFA, Chandigarh or Manipur.

This book does not take any notice of the contribution of Maharashtrians towards the growth of Indian culture. The discussion on freedom struggle is also not very clear because there is no reference either to the series of rebellions that started in 1555 when the Goans refused to pay the land revenue which was excessive or to the subsequent revolts upto the year 1947.

The author could have greatly improved this book by consulting important records such as 'Political Letters from the Portuguese Central Government to the Goa Government and *vice versa* (1560–1880)', 'Letters to neighbouring foreign authorities (1619–1892)', 'Correspondence with British authorities in India (1881–82)', 'Proceedings of the Revenue Council of Diu (1840-88)', and 'Account Books of village communities (1766–1869)'. He seems to have consulted neither the 86 series of records which are available in Goa nor the valuable documents which are kept in the National Archives of India. His work as such is one-sided and cannot be regarded as original. The need for a really good research work on Goa remains to be fulfilled but the author can have the satisfaction of having produced a good hand-book on Goa.

Y. B. MATHUR

HISTORY OF THE RISE OF THE MAHOMEDAN POWER IN INDIA (TILL THE YEAR A.D. 1612), TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN OF MAHOMED KASIM FIRISHTA. By John Briggs, Vol. III—Sole Distributors, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 61/A. Banchram Akrur Lane, Calcutta 12, 1966, Price Rs. 40.00.

Ferishta of Persia reached Ahmednagar with his father and later came to be associated with Sultan Adil Shah II of Bijapur as well as Emperor Jahangir. He consulted a large mass of available historical material and compiled a general history of Muslim Power in India. He referred to his work "as simple and unadorned annals, founded on truth but devoid of all pretension to elegancy of style or beauty of composition". He added that his desire was to "give a true account" of the Delhi rulers and the Bahmini Sultans without suppressing or misrepresenting facts as, fortunate in bounty, he was in a position to spurn gold "beneath his feet". Though his knowledge of the geography or history of India was not extensive, his book, in spite of its obvious Muslim bias, is on the whole comparatively less characterised by fanaticism than those of other mediaeval writers.

The first edition appeared at London in 1829. This is the third edition. The book under review, the third volume in the series, opens with Chapter III, Section II. This section and subsequent ones deal with the Adil Shahis of Bijapur, the Nizam Shahis of Ahmednagar, Kutb Shahis of Golkonda, Imad Shahis of Berar and the Bereed Shahis of Bidar. It is superfluous to refer to the classic value of John Briggs' translation. The timely publication is a distinct service to the research scholars who are interested in consulting original contemporary source material. We therefore heartily welcome it.

P. K. K. MENON

EARLY INDIAN ECONOMICS: STUDIES IN THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF NORTHERN AND WESTERN INDIA, 200 B.C. TO A.D. 300. By G. L. Adhya, published by Asia Publishing House, Bombay, etc., 1966; pages 188 excluding bibliography of 23 pages and Index of 5 pages, Price Rs. 24/-

The book under review was Dr. G. L. Adhya's thesis which earned for him the Ph.D. degree of the University of London. "Early Indian Economics" could have been deleted from its title.

Besides Introduction (pp. 1–24) and Conclusion (pp. 177–78), Dr. Adhya's work has three Chapters dealing respectively with Land (pp. 25-45), Industry (pp. 46–94) and Trade (pp. 95–176). There are also three Appendices (pp. 179–88) respectively on Kuṣāṇa Gold Coins, Exchange of Coins at Barygaza and Metallurgy in the *Arthaśāstra.*

Like most other London University theses, Dr. Adhya's work exhibits diligent collection of data and judicious presentation of facts. There are, however, places where the learned author has either misunderstood the evidence or dealt with it inadequately. His attention may be drawn here to a few such points so that he may consider them at the time of revising the book for a future edition.

According to the author, the discovery of Nahapāna's coins restruck by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and the Nasik *praśasti* of the said Sātavāhana King "suggest that the Sātavāhanas gained their dominions in Western India either from Nahapāna himself or soon after his reign" (p. 22). Although, however, the Nasik *praśasti* mentions Gautamīputra as *Kṣaharāta-vaṁśa-niravaśeṣakara* and *Śaka–Yavana–Pahlava–nisūdana,* more important information comes from three other inscriptions, one from Nasik and two from Karle. The Nasik inscription says that, in the 18th year of Gautamīputra's reign, the Sātavāhana King granted some land near Nasik which was then in his possession, but had been previously in the possession of one who was the Śaka Governor of the Nasik–Poona region and was Nahapāna's son–in–law. The Karle inscriptions likewise show that the village of Karajaka or Karajika near Karle, which had been originally granted by the said Śaka Governor was regranted by Gautamīputra to the same donees in his 18th regnal year. Moreover, as Rapson long ago pointed out, the restriking only of Nahapāna's coins by Gautamīputra proves that the Sātavāhana King did not occupy the Śaka territories during the rule of any successor of Nahapāna. The note on *nivartana* at p. 27 (note 3) could have been improved if the author consulted *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXVIII, p. 245.

One of the Nasik inscriptions is stated to record a grant in favour of the ascetics of the Triraśmi hills "after the formerly granted village and the adjoining village up the hill have been found uninhabited and uncultivated" (p. 28). This is a wrong rendering of the passage—*gāme Kakhaḍīsu puva khetaṁ data ta ca kheta na kasate so ca gāmo na vasati.*

Dr. Adhya refers to a Nasik inscription of Ṛṣabhadatta and says that "it is not clear from the text....whether the rate of interest was for a month or for a year. It has been assumed to be a monthly rate, otherwise it seems much too low" (p. 87, note 2). This is not correct since the inscription clearly indicates that the interest was monthly. The passage *civarika-sahasrāni be 2000 ye paḍike sate eto mama leṇe vasavuthāna bhikhunaṁ vīsāya ekīkasa civarika bārasaka* shows that, at the rate of 12 *kārṣāpaṇas* per monk, the 20 monks living in the cave required 144 *kārṣāpaṇas* and that provision for the said amount was made by depositing 2000 *kārṣāpaṇas* at 1 per cent interest, i.e. 20 *kārṣāpaṇas* per month and 144 *kārṣāpaṇas* per year (12 months).

Besides mistakes of the above type, there are points on which our opinion differs from Dr. Adhya's. Thus he says, "Roman gold and silver had no perceptible influence on the economy of Northern and Western India as was the case in the south." There can, however, be little doubt that, whereas the Roman coins were themselves circulated in the South Indian market, Roman gold and silver appeared in Northern (with North-Western) and Western India respectively as the gold and silver money of the Kuṣāṇas and the Śaka Kṣatrapas who must have originally owed allegiance to the Kuṣāṇas.

We have noticed minor errors like *Yasamotika* (p. 22) for *Ysāmotika, Libenthal* (p. 200) for *Liebenthal, Legenda* (p. 200) for *Legend,* etc. The author may try to remove such blemishes from the next edition of the work, so that it may be more useful to our students.

D. C. SIRCAR

HISTORY OF THE GAZETTEERS OF INDIA. By S. B. Chaudhuri, Published by the Manager of Publications, Delhi-6, 1965. Price Rs. 12 (Inland) 28 Sh. or $4.32 cents (Foreign).

Gazetteer compilation has, in the main, been a legacy of the British who had collected statistical and topographical data on a vast scale. The scope of Gazetteer has now become wider and includes also historical, social, economic and cultural material. It is intended to give a glimpse of the land and the people, guide the administrator and serve as a reference book for the public.

It was Sir W. W. Hunter who had originally planned the compilation, "part by part with minute local care", of the Gazetteer of India, based on earlier investigations, surveys and statistical reports. The first edition, consisting of nine volumes, was published in 1881. Its utility to the administrator was unfortunately limited, to some extent, by the fact that its figures could not be kept up–to–date, while, as a source of general information, it did not pay adequate attention to topics of botanical or archaeological interest. Hunter viewed things from the narrow official standpoint. The second edition of the Gazetteer, including fourteen volumes, was published in 1886 (and not in 1866 as noted on Page 107). Curzon was of the view that the Imperial Gazetteer could in no way aspire to supersede the Provincial Gazetteers which had their own administrative value. By 1907–09 four series of Indian Gazetteers had actually come into existence.

Mr. S. B. Chaudhuri has served as Editor in charge of the planning of the new series of Gazeteers in conformity with the political, economic and social changes in Inida. This comprehensive and readable volume is a short historical survey of the attempts at Gazetteer compilation in India.

P. K. K. Menon

PALESTINE BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS. By Sami Hadawi. Publishers: The Institute for Palestine Studies, Lebanon.

The Institute for Palestine Studies is an independent Arab research organization not affiliated to any government or party. It seeks to provide public information on the Palestine problem.

After the Allies had occupied Palestine in 1918, it passed through the so-called Mandate period from 1920 to 1947. The majority of the population of Palestine are Moslems, while the Christians and the Jews constitute powerful minorities. Disputes over questions like the rights of refugees and the preservation of their property were frequent, and at times, they assumed alarming proportions.

The United Nations introduced the Partition Plan of 1947, under which Palestine was divided into two independent states—one Arab and the other Jewish-linked together by an economic union. The Partition Plan provided that Palestine was to be divided into six principal parts, three of which were allotted to the *Jewish State* and the other three to the Arab State. The reason for this extraordinary division was to include within the Jewish state all areas owned and inhabited by the Jews even though this meant the inclusion of large areas inhabited entirely by Arabs. The *Arab State*, on the other hand, was to include the least possible number of Jews and the smallest amount of Jewish property.

Several attempts have been made by the United Nations to find a solution for the frequent disputes. Speeches and resolutions have figured prominently in the deliberations of the United Nations.

The 'Annual Documentary—1965', under review, provides the texts of the Resolutions adopted on the Palestine Question by the United Nations. Besides the reports of the Special Political Committee, the statements of the representations of the Governments are reproduced. Summaries of statements made in the debate before the Special Political Committee during the course of the year are also provided. The complaints made by the aggrieved party to the Security Council are reproduced. Thus it constitutes a valuable source book for understanding the Palestine problem.

K. K. PILLAY.

SALIHUNDAM, A BUDDHIST SITE IN ANDHRA PRADESH by Dr. R. Subramanyam, published by the Director of Archaeology, Andhra Pradesh Government, Hyderabad, 1964. Price Rs. 24/-.

This work embodies the results of excavations carried out by Dr. R. Subramanyam for the Archaeological Survey of India in 1954. Coming, as it does, from the brilliant excavator of Nagarjunakonda, perhaps the most outstanding of all the Buddhist sites in Andhra Desa, the report is full and admirable.

Salihundam, 18° 13′ N by 84° 15′ E, is a small village on the bank of the Vamsadhara river in the Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh. It is four miles from Kalingapatnam, an ancient sea-port town. Salihundam may be the corruption of the term *Salivendam* which occurs in an inscription engraved on the wall of the Srikakulam temple. The village 'Salivendam, was gifted away to God Kurmanadha in 1260 A.D. by a subordinate of the Eastern Gangas for the maintenance of daily worship. But Salihundam had an earlier name, too. Two inscribed conches found in the excavations of the monastic area by Dr. Subramanyam (pl. XLIV) give us the name *Salipedaka* or *Salipataka* which means Rice-Town. During the period of rule of the Satavahanas, Salihundam must have been a market town, and like the capital itself, namely, Dhanakataka or Dhanyakataka (identified with modern Amaravati in the Guntur District) stored and traded in rice. The proximity of Kalingapatnam, a sea-port of the period, lends support to this view.

Mr. A. H. Longhurst was the first to dig the site (see Annual Report, A. S. I. 1919-20, p. 35) and Shri T. N. Ramachandran continued the work intermittently during the period, 1943-47.

Dr. Subramanyam's excavations have revealed three phases of culture at Salihundam:

(1) Early phase, with its black-and-red pottery similar to the Megalithic pottery at Brahmagiri, would indicate a date of occupation approximately between 3rd — 2nd Century B.C. and first Century A.D.

(2) Middle phase, with its structural remains of Chaityagrihas, viharas and stupas, and defaced Satavahana coins, may fall into a period between 2nd Century and 4th Century A.D. Most of the objects recovered appear to belong to the Satavahana period. A lot of rouletted ware occurs in this phase. They are grey, black, and black-and-red. Some of the rouletted pieces have been dated by Dr. Subramanyam to 3rd and 2nd Century B.C. on the basis of the Brahmi characters of the inscribed labels found on them. Two sherds may particularly be noticed: the one with the inscrip-

tion *Bhamanasa* (Fig. 13, 3c) from the excavation, the other from surface with *Nakulana* on it.

The usual date for the rouletted ware is first Century A.D. First Century A.D. particularly the first half, constitutes the peak period of Roman trade with South India. Great impetus was given to this trade by Augustus and Tiberius. It is interesting to note that coins of Tiberius have been found at Salihundam. It is a possibility that the rouletted ware perhaps came to India in the wake of the trade with the Roman Empire. But the rouletted ware of Salihundam, dated to an earlier period archaeologically, does not find any support at the present moment. This opens up a new and interesting problem. We must be on the look-out for more such examples associated with indubitable archaeological objects from excavated sites. Palaeographical evidence, though valuable, cannot by itself clinch the issue. Writing of the same period, for example, on stone and copper plate, would not be the same because of the nature of the material.

It is true that the rouletted ware continued in circulation for long. There was also an attempt at imitation of the rouletted ware. Both imported and local varieties were found at Chandravalli and Brahmagiri in the Mysore area. It is worthwhile examining whether there are local varieties at Salihundam.

(3) The last phase of the site, from 4th or 5th Century to 8th Century A.D., is indicated by the occurrence of half-a-dozen stone inscriptions, later structures using material of earlier ones and votive stupas. All the evidences unearthed by Dr. Subramanyam tend to show that there was no break and Salihundam continued to flourish upto 8th Century.

From the excavations, we gather that Salihundam was connected with the various phases of Buddhism. It witnessed the beginnings of Theravada Buddhism. Except one, the stupas of Salihundam do not conform to the usual Andhra style. That is to say, the Ayaka platform with its five Ayaka pillars is conspicuously absent, though the ground plan of the wheel, hub and radiating spokes, common to all the stupas of Andhra Desa is present. The five Ayaka pillars are supported to represent symbolically the five chief incidents in the life of the Buddha: birth, renunciation, enlightenment, *Dharmachakrapravartana* and *parinirvana.* Their absence indicates, as Dr. Subramanyam rightly suggests, that the technique of construction was borrowed from North India through Orissa and not from Andhra.

The absence of the sculptured slabs portraying scenes from the life of the Buddha in his previous births indicates that Salihundam was the seat of Theravada Buddhism which considered the Buddha only as a superman.

That the next phase, namely, Mahayana was short-lived is evidenced by the fact that only two stucco heads of the Buddha and a Torso with Gandhara drapery occurred in the excavations.

Vajrayana Buddhism, on the other hand, flourished at Salihundam for long, probably drawing its inspiration from Vikramsila. The discovery of numerous images of Vajrayana particularly Tara and Marichi should be taken into account in this connection.

Salihundam thus presents Buddhism in all its aspects—from its birth to its decay. Secondly, it served as a link between the Northern and Southern schools of Buddhism.

This publication which contributes considerably to our knowledge of the personality of India should deservedly find a place in the library of the scholar interested in the history and civilization of India.

M. Seshadri.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MEDIEVAL RAJASTHAN (Social and Cultural): By G. N. Sharma, published by Lakshmi Narayan Agarwal, Agra-3, 1966, p. 96, price Rs. 5/-.

This small work from the pen of Dr. G. N. Sharma, Reader in History, Rajasthan University, Jaipur, is expected to be of some use to the students of Rajput history. It deals with the material under the following heads— (1) Inscriptions, (2) Unpublished Documents, (3) Persian Works, (4) Archival Records from Bikaner, Kotah, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Udaipur and Ajmer, (5) Sculpture, (6) Illustrated Manuscripts and Paintings, (7) Travellers' Accounts, (8) Medieval Works in Sanskrit, Rajasthani and Hindi, and (9) Modern Works in English, Hindi and Rajasthani as also

Journals, Reviews and Gazetteers. The scheme is satisfactory, though there are defects in its execution.

The importance of the work lies in drawing our attention to a number of unpublished records; but the author should have tried to avoid — *'architectural datas'* (p. iii), 'noticed in *the* Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Report' (p. 8), 'useful for the *reference of early description* of Chitor' (p. 25), etc., as well as 'Annual Report of the *Rajasthan* Museum, Ajmer', 'Progress Report of Archaeological Survey of Western Circles', 'Smith, V. A. Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. II', etc. Indifferent and inaccurate use of diacritical marks should also have been avoided.

We have noticed important omissions, especially in the sections on Inscriptions and Modern Works. Hiuen-tsang's *Si-zu-ki* and Abu Rihān Al Bīrunī's *Kitābul Hind* should have been mentioned.

A curious entry in this book on 'medieval' Rajasthan runs as follows: "Bhābru inscription. An epigraph discovered in the ruins of a hill monastery at Bairāt in the northern part of Jaipur, noticed in *J.R.A.S.*, 1908, pp. 491-492 and Bhandārkar's Asoka, pp. 69, 78 and 96, shows that Prākrit language was used in Rajasthan during the Maurya age" (p. 3). The statement that a Bikaner inscription of the close of the sixteenth century is of great value to the student of the evolution of the Sanskrit language (p. 11) seems to be almost equally curious.

D. C. SIRCAR

MUGHAL EMPIRE IN INDIA: By S. R. Sharma, Revised Edition, 1966. Lakshmi Narain Agarwal, Agra-3. Price Rs. 20.

The first edition of this book had appeared in 1934. The vast amount of material bearing on the familiar aspects of Mughal history has been properly organised and distributed among twelve chapters for the convenient study of the keen scholar. The author usefully refers to all the prevalent points of view on subjects of controversy and the extracts quoted by him from works of other scholars amply serve to make the reader familiar with their writings as well. The authoritative sources on each topic have been mentioned in detail for the benefit of the student. The author can legitimately claim to have treated the subject systematically and comprehensively. The high practical utility of the book would have been still more enhanced if the author had also dealt with the social and economic conditions of the period, Mughal art and architecture and causes of the decline of the empire in separate chapters. The inclusion of an Index is a desideratum.

P. K. K. MENON

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF NON-PERSIAN SOURCES OF MEDIEVAL INDIAN HISTORY: By P. Saran. Publishers: Asia Publishing House, Bombay.

Dr. P. Saran is the author of some notable books on Medieval Indian History. The book under review comprises a description of well over 200 manuscripts relating to the history and social life of Rajasthan. It is bound to prove an useful source of reference for researchers. He describes the documents and provides summaries of many of them; in certain cases he reproduces long excerpts.

The catalogue is divided into three parts. Part I consists of a description of the documents. Part II comprises detailed annotation of about 50% of the total number of documents included in Part I. This is obviously a lacuna. The author states that he proposes to prepare similar detailed notices of the remaining ones later.

Part III contains eight Appendices including a list of the total number of documents surveyed, and a list of other collections available in Rajasthan, including records pertaining to the departments (Karkhanas) of the Jaipur State. These appendices are useful for ready reference.

There is no doubt that the entire work is a product of sustained effort. The volume provides useful information on the social, economic and cultural aspects of the life of the people.

It must be observed that Col. Tod had not brought under his famous survey the history of earlier Rajput kingdoms which flourished roughly between A.D. 700 and 1,200. The volume under review provides a more comprehensive treatment of the sources for the history of Rajasthan. The Persian sources alone have till now formed the basis of the history of Rajasthan; but they constitute only a part of the totality of the source material. In fact, the utilisation of the other sources is needed for obtaining a full picture, particularly in respect of the social and cultural history of Rajasthan.

K. K. Pillay

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